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RALPH SCOTT

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CLIFFORD A. KIRACOFE, Jr.

Contemporary Economics and Business Association
at George Mason University
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PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS, SOCIAL CHANGE AND TAX EXEMPTION

By Ralph Scott

The United States, leader of the free world, is the pride of its citizens, the envy of other nations, and a magnet which regularly appeals to prospective immigrants from all parts of the world. The viability of the American system is generally attributed to the vigor of three interlocking components: business, government, and the tax-exempt nonprofit sector. Of the latter, John D. Rockefeller III says, "This sector is so little understood that I am tempted to call it the 'invisible' sector. It is crucial to our way of life. But it is eroding before our eyes." (1)

There are two parts to the tax-exempt nonprofit sector, and each emphasizes quite different services and functions. First, there are the agencies which serve individuals or small groups of people. In many communities, these agencies are central to basic human services: museums, libraries, private colleges, churches, hospitals, symphony orchestras; also within this subgrouping are the thousands of social service organizations such as the Boy Scouts, American Cancer Society, and religious organizations.

The second subsection of the non-profit sector consists of the nation's 26,000 tax exempt private foundations; of these, about 24,000 have less than $1 million in assets. Overall, the impact of these foundations seems dwarfed by the service-carrying element. Altogether, the latter annually obtains gifts worth approximately $26 billion of which more than half of this came from families with incomes of less than $20,000 in the year 1977. The equivalency of another $26 billion is annually donated through voluntary citizenry efforts. In contrast, private foundations have total assets of $26.3 billion and spend less than 10%, approximately $2.4 billion, of the nation's charitable funds each year. (2)

Despite its relative size, the private foundation subsection exerts a far more telling effect on our society than might be anticipated. One reason for this is that foundation resources are highly mobile, with few fixed obligations. Money can be rapidly turned over to new and different projects, and in a manner

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which can initiate far-ranging political experimentation. (3) As one Ford Foundation officer observed, grant money is not necessarily the best measure of efforts. Significant influence stems from informal conferences, commissioned reports, discussions with government officials and the impact of any one foundation can be multiplied by joint ventures with other foundations. (4)

Because of their claim to tax-exempt status, nonprofit foundations are legally required to remain reasonably objective in their concern for "the public interest." But Indiana's Senator Vance Hartke, speaking as Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Foundations, has this to say: "There are many examples of private foundations in this country which do an excellent job. But they are outnumbered at least five to one by foundations which are failing to serve the public purpose adequately." (5)

If foundations do fail to serve the public interest, one explanation may be their predisposition toward social activism, irrespective of objective data. Conservative columnist Jeffrey Hart considers foundations a "shadow" government trying to force their own social goals on the country under the euphemism of "social change." (6) Hart may disapprove of what he perceives to be social experimentation, but John D. Rockefeller III applauds it: "(the private nonprofit sector) . . . is the seedbed for organized efforts to deal with social problems. All important contemporary 'movements' have sprung from it – civil rights, women's rights, consumerism, the environment and many others." (7) Quite a different perspective was provided by the former tycoon of the nation's largest foundation. In 1977, Henry Ford II quit his trusteeship of the Ford Foundation's board because, he concluded, many on the Foundation staff failed to respect the values of the free enterprise system that financed that philanthropic agency. Ford singled out universities, principal beneficiaries of the Foundations grant programs, as being particularly insensitive to the values of the free enterprise system. (8)

Most informed observers of the private sector concur with Hart, Ford, and Rockefeller that foundations are responsible for much of the social change which has occured in the United States during the past three decades. A few 'conservative' foundations do exist: such as the Pew Trust, Houston Endowment, and the Coors Foundation. But their relatively small number

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serve to demonstrate their exceptionality. Moreover, there has been, historically, a close intermingling of foundation and university resources which, one analyst notes, helps to explain the rarity of criticism aimed at foundations from academia generally. (9)

A Foundation Reverses Priorities

A review of the history of the Rockefeller Foundation reveals the steady transition made by America's third largest nonprofit foundation from initial support of noncontroversial projects to its current priority of forthright social advocacy. Like many other foundations, the Rockefeller Foundation originally funded the so-called "hard sciences," which involved objective research, such as biochemistry, botany, and medicine. Even in the area of the "soft sciences," such as education, Rockefeller grants at first sparked little controversy. Partly, this was because prior to the Depression charity was the chief source of relief for the poor, and the nonprofit section not infrequently aided large numbers of the nation's indigent. Even during the Depression, foundations were the largest contributors to medical schools and higher education. Today, however, Washington dispenses more than 20 times more money to higher education than do the foundations; at the federal, state, and local levels, welfare programs are funded through tax money.

The Rockefeller Foundation originally viewed its role as the advancement of knowledge within the medical and natural sciences, the humanities, the social sciences, and agricultural science. (10) Initial emphases were on control of endemic diseases such as yellow fever and malaria. In the process, assistance was provided 22 public health schools. Prior to World War II, the Foundation stressed "support of the then-fledgling life sciences." (11) Concern was on physiological processes within the fields of biochemistry, molecular biology and human genetics, but minor support was provided in the areas of international relations, political science and economics through direct grants to universities.

Facilitated by the accession of former U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk as Foundation president, in the 1960's there was a withdrawal from support of science and scholarships in Europe's great centers of learning. Instead, support was diverted to problems existing in the underdeveloped regions of Latin America,

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Africa and Southeast Asia. This policy shift was expressed philosophically in the decision to move the emphasis away from further research into the still unsolved areas of the basic and life sciences — in favor of the application of existing knowledge to the well-being of mankind throughout the world. In the U.S., top priority was now given to "The achievement of equal opportunity for all." (12)

Crucial to pursuit of the goal of "equal opportunity" was the operational definition. Did it mean social action designed to assure individuals of the right to equal opportunity? Or should the term be used to signify group rights? As black columnist William Raspberry notes, if that question is answered then much can be said concerning the type of country a person believes America is and ought to become. (13) "Conservatives" generally argue that justice concerns individuals and that fair treatment for all individuals assures fairness for all groups. The opposing view, held by liberals and the Civil Rights establishment, claims that American "racism" is a group condition that requires group solutions.

Having committed the foundation to social activism in favor of "equal opportunity," the Rockefeller officials opted to interpret equal opportunity in terms of group rather than individual solutions. (14) Consequently, it began to support social intervention in the following areas:

(1) *School desegregation*: the forcing of school children to attend schools distant from their homes in order to assure a desired mathematical "balance" between majority (white) and minority (nonwhite) students in contravention of the hitherto existing assumption that all children had the right to attend their neighborhood schools.

(2) *University admissions*: changing, and frequently lowering, established standards such as minimum test scores, in order to assure the admission of increased, and frequently designated, percentages of minority students to specific university programs in contravention of the previous assumption that similar academic requirements should be set for all students regardless of their ethnic background.

(3) *Desegregated housing*: encouraging "racial balance" in residential patterns by government intervention in contravention of the previous assumption that residential patterns should be allowed to evolve freely with people having the right to buy and sell their property to whomsoever they chose.

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(4) *Job quotas*: requiring employees, in both the public and private sector, to hire and promote employees on the basis of ethnicity in contravention of the previous assumption that employees had the right to make their own choice freely and without restriction when searching for employees.

(5) *The role of women*: placing quotas on the number of women given positions within the private and public sector, even if this meant modifying standards, such as physical dexterity tests for positions in police and fire departments for women, in contravention of previous policies that set the needs of the job about all other considerations.

(6) *Tax reform*: opposing tax limitations measures, such as California's Proposition 13, to facilitate the redistribution of wealth by way of location in contravention of earlier philosophies in favor of restricted taxation.

In appraising these interwoven issues, it is recognized that the essential issue is not that Rockefeller shifted program priorities to enhance prospects for minorities or the poor. Certainly it is permissible to ask whether tax exempt funds should be used to bring about changes in the social, economic and legal structure of society. But apart from this, there are the questions: (1) whether the (tax exempt) Foundation employed and employs objectively scientific approaches and (2) whether the "group rights" projects have in fact benefited the minority groups they were intended to aid.

Of the six targeted issues, forced school desegregation may best serve to determine whether the Foundation has maintained reasonable objectivity. Every American president from Dwight Eisenhower to Jimmy Carter has identified school desegregation as the most significant single educational issue. Many black scholars, and most black parents, oppose the mandated transportation of minority children from neighborhood schools. (15) There is evidence that busing has not enhanced the self-confidence of minority youngsters, (16) has failed to promote minority learning, (17) has fueled the flight of middle-class students from the public schools. (18) From the issue of school desegregation, other "group rights" positions have been staked: including ethnic quotas on discipline and ability grouping within the schools.

Has the Foundation maintained an objective position with respect to forced busing? The record indicated that, irrespective

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of the consequences of busing on educational quality, mandated desegregation has consistently been a Foundation goal. The Rockefeller's 1971 ten-year review of grant activities noted that a principal aim had been to provide sustained support for large pro-busing civil rights organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League. (19) Since 1971, pro-busing Rockefeller grants have been awarded continuously; the awards are too numerous to cite here but many of these grants were clearly designated as being politically activist in intent, as for example the dollar contributions totalling well into seven figures to the NAACP by the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations combined to help the NAACP force desegregation in both schools and housing, with the aid of teams of lawyers, in addition to organizing seminars and research projects for the same purpose.

The 1979 Rockefeller Foundation Report contains only a single reference to support for further advances in tropical medicine, a signal that continued priority was given to social change. (20) The theme of the Report was consistent with the ideology of the Foundation's Chairman, Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, President of Notre Dame University. Hesburgh had served on a number of committees for the United States Commission on Civil Rights. For over two decades, Hesburgh advocated various social action measures such as forced busing to achieve racial integration, the racial integration of housing areas and apartment buildings, and job quotas for minorities. Under Hesburgh's leadership, the Foundation established ties with other action-oriented agencies. One of the most significant of those was the Center for National Policy Review, whose activities were also supported by the Ford Foundation. (21) The accession of Father Hesburgh to helmsmanship of the Rockefeller Foundation revealed the massive shift from scientific concern to an open emphasis on controversial and debatable social issues. In the past, such forthright and ideological involvement by nonprofit organizations, using tax-subsidized funds, has led to government intervention. This may be in the offing once again.

Public Backlash

The 1969 Tax Reform Act

The tax exempt foundations came increasingly under critic's attacks as their assets rose and their programs turned clearly toward activism. From 1950 to 1969, the assets of the private

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foundations rose from $2.5 billion to $20 billion. (22) That amount of money requires some monitoring. Whenever occasional investigations were conducted, some irregularities appeared but not enough to arouse broad-based public ire. But public concern steadily increased as the foundations accelerated efforts to bring about social change. That shift in emphasis — from hard science to social activism — produced increased public curiosity as to just what the foundations were doing with money ostensibly designated for charity but at times diverted into schemes involving outright tax dodges.

In 1965, the U.S. Treasury Department conducted a study that found that the expenditures of most non-profit foundations were legally legitimate, although a small amount of abuse was also revealed. Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas was found to have received $20,000 for "researching the writing for a foundation set-up by a man who went to jail for stock manipulation." One contributor had given $65,000 to a foundation, only to have the foundation loan the money to the man's corporation, with a tax gain accruing to the presumably generous donor. (23)

In the late 1960s, public concern over foundations reached a level which compelled Congressional action. The spark was provided by the Ford Foundation, the richest, most powerful, and most controversial of the large foundations. Almost defiantly, in several grants Ford had crossed the line which separates private philanthropy from politics. The politically militant CORE had been given $175,000, of which $38,750 had been used to drum up support in Cleveland for a black candidate who was running against a white. The second gift involved payments of $131,000 to eight former aides of the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy to ease their transition from public to private life by providing up to a year of leisure and freedom from immediate financial concern. Thirdly, Ford had become involved in a New York City controversy, involving black control of the schools. (24) The resulting public reaction convinced Congress that the bell had tolled for some form of visible tax reform. Congress had no desire to trim the sails of the big contributors, such as the multinational conglomerates. Instead, the operations of foundations were selected for a thoroughgoing investigation.

Throughout the ensuing Congressional debates, universities zealously backed the foundations. Many of the nation's most

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influential professors had received grants to advance social change through the writing of textbooks, the provision of "export" testimony in court cases relating to desegregation and other goals of social activism, and for appearances before government agencies and the public forum. (25) Thus, Ford and other activist foundations, by selectively supporting universities and university scholars, had utilized tax exempt dollars for professionally-supported social change. This the national climate permitted: Historic concern over conflict of interest between academia and grant-awarding institutions had abated steadily since World War II. Throughout the 1969 dispute, higher education did what it could to protect the nonprofit organizations from restrictive limitations. But the private foundation-education complex lost the battle of 1969.

The resulting Tax Reform Act (TRA) imposed stricter tax limitations. No more than 20% of a company's stock could be owned by a foundation. This made it impossible for a foundation to dispense company funds and still maintain company control. The TRA also required financial accounting which could verify that every dollar was spent for educational or charitable purposes. Also, a 4% tax was placed on a private foundation's investment income. (26)

Penalties were established for violations of the TRA. An errant foundation might lose its exemption. A less severe penalty was to levy a tax of 10% of the forbidden grant, while a 2½% tax was designated for each employee who agreed to an errant deed. Should the IRS be unsatisfied that an illegal grant had been corrected within a specified time period, a supplemental 100% was to fall on the foundation, with an additional 50% tax on any employee who refused to agree to the redemptive measures. Maximum liability for any employee was set at $15,000. (27)

Foundation officers were also made personally liable for approving any grant that IRS considered to be a prohibited taxable expenditure. Forbidden, too, was the influencing of legislation through attempts to shape opinion of the general public or any segment thereof: "They cannot communicate with any government employee, other than by making available results of non-partisan analysis, study or research." (28)

The term "taxable expenditure" was interpreted as including any amount paid or incurred by a private foundation to carry

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on propaganda, or otherwise attempt to influence legislation. The tax code was rewritten to state that "A private foundation is not treated as having made taxable expenditures of amounts paid or incurred in carrying on discussions with officials of governmental bodies provided that (1) the subject of the discussions is a program which is jointly funded by the foundation and the government or is a new program which may be jointly funded by the foundation and the government, (2) the discussions are undertaken for the purpose of exchanging data and information on the subject matter of the program, and (3) such discussions are not undertaken by foundation managers in order to make any direct attempt to persuade governmental officials or employees to take particular positions on specific legislative issues other than such programs." (29)

Organizations with tax-exempt "501(c)3" status were permitted to instruct the public on matters useful to the individual and beneficial to the community. Foundations were able to enter the political milieu by assembling and donating materials such as campaign speeches, interviews and other materials relative to the candidacy for an historically important elective office. However, there must be full and sufficient exposition of pertinent facts. (30) "Engaging in nonpartisan analysis, study, or research and making available to the general public or segment thereof or to governmental bodies, officials, or employees the results of such work do not constitute carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation. Nonpartisan analysis, study or research, which means an independent and objective exposition of a particular subject matter, may advocate a particular position or viewpoint so long as there is a sufficiently full and fair exposition of the pertinent facts to enable the public or an individual to form an independent opinion or conclusion. On the other hand, the mere presentation of unsupported opinion does not qualify. (31) In the presentation of "sufficient full and fair exposition of pertinent facts" the nonprofit foundations may not use disparaging terms, insinuations, innuendoes and suggested implications drawn from incomplete facts." (32) Some guiding principles emerged when the IRS ruled that an exempt broadcasting station that provided equal air time to all electoral candidates in compliance with the Federal Communications Act did not violate the proscription against partisan political activities. (33)

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In general, the TRA reflects the view that tax-exempt foundations are stewards of public trusts and their assets are no longer in the same status as the assets of individuals who may dispose of their own money in any lawful way they see fit.

Ordinarily, it might be assumed that the new regulations, as subsequently amended, would suffice to force even zealous foundation officials into a framework of objectivity on controversial social issues. But as a foundation tax lawyer observed, "There is always going to be some interpretive leeway in phrases like "attempt to influence legislation." What is meant by 'influence' or 'legislation?'" (34)

The Ford Foundation

So severe were the prohibitions resulting from the TRA that one authority estimated that only .5% of all foundations – no more than 150 of the 26,000 – would even consider a controversial grant. (35) But Ford, the biggest foundation of all and the one that had triggered the 1969 Congressional investigation, seemed confident that it could continue to operate freely within the uncertain political-educational waters while maintaining its tax-exempt status.

Following passage of the TRA, Ford reviewed its 2,000 active grants. Not one was cancelled, although some were toned down. Said one foundation analyst: "In 1970 it was possible to step into the offices of the Ford Foundation and hear discussions concerning possible ventures in welfare reform, alienation of the white working class, public interest laws and black elected officials." (36) Vice President Mitchell Sviridoff stated in the Ford 1970 Annual Report:

> "The agenda for the seventies clearly will have to cover more territory . . . We are supporting work on nearly all the issues that provide perspectives for the seventies – poverty, manpower training, higher education, the environment . . . But more than most institutions, a foundation needs constantly to reassess its priorities. In a nation beset by divisiveness, surely one criterion that ought to rank high in foundation decisions is the potential of any idea or program to reunify people in support of constructive change and social equity . . ." (37)

As early as 1969 – only months after Congress had passed the restrictive Tax Reform Act – the Ford Foundation had

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already set into motion a new vehicle for securing the anticipated social change: the Center for Law and Social Policy, a Washington public interest firm, which was destined to become controversial. In underwriting the Center, Ford assembled a prestigious advisory committee which consisted of four past presidents of the American Bar Association. Additionally, a "litigation committee" was formed. This consisted of respected lawyers who were charged with approving cases for the Center and for certifying their legality and respectability. (38) In the fall of 1970, after it had operated little more than a year, the Center received $375,000 from Ford. Since its inception, the Center has continued to receive substantial Ford support. In 1981 it had a legal staff of 18 lawyers and, to assure an ongoing legal impact, an annual crop of 25 law students. The Center's major aim: to become involved in major public policy questions "to represent the interests of previously unrepresented citizens before agencies and courts; to assist in the improvement of our legal and justice systems; and to provide clinical education for law students." (39) The Center concentrates on six different areas: The Health Project, the International Project, Women's Rights, The Mining Project, The Employment Project, and the Media Access Project which purportedly seeks to assure that broadcasts will serve the needs of all segments of the community and present balanced views of its programming.

An evaluation of the docket of Center activities reveals that, despite an expressed interest in the above six areas, its activities soon extended into questions involving school and housing desegregation. Thus, in a California case, the Center charged the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) with failing to enforce racial discrimination prohibitions of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act in southern schools. Cases were filed against HEW and the Department of Labor on employment issues, and the Center assumed an active role in reviewing the federal administration's plans for reorganization of civil programs. Here the Center's activities took a peculiar turn. Few bureaucrats were more social-activist-minded than Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chair of the Equal Educational Opportunities Commission. But officials of the Center attended a series of meetings with Holmes and other officials of the Department of Labor, to discuss the Equal Party Act, and the Carter's own Report concluded that: "The reorganization followed many of

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our suggestions." (40) It might be surmised that Holmes may have used the Center to accomplish some of her goals, Indeed the strategy employed here suggests that the Ford Foundation grant was used for an unusual ploy: to help (already activist) bureaucrats facilitate social change by bringing suit against them.

Pyramiding Influence

Early in the process of triggering social change, private foundations realized that allies in higher education could help to promote social action, and in a manner which multiplies the impact of foundation money. One common pyramiding technique is to build up the prestige of a cadre of pre-selected social scientists, by paying to disseminate their publications through prestigious media channels. The enhanced public credibility of the (selected) social scientists can then be used to support testimony which shapes legislative and judicial decision-making. Furthermore, once these scholars have been committed publicly to particular social values, they can mostly be relied upon to stay true to those values and opinions for the remainder of their academic lives — they have become permanent recruits as a result of the financial support given to the desired venture.

Generally, professors were ready to cooperate: In her evaluation of 60,000 university faculty members, Carol Weiss reported that the overwhelming majority of professors sought to instil a desire for social change in their students. (41) Some professors might start out uncommitted. But as one foundation leader observed, social scientists could be persuaded to accept even the most absurd ideas if grants were dangled in front of them.

The psychologist Gardner Murphy demonstrated how the nation's private foundations expand their networks of cooperative professors. In one experiment, selections of Rachel Carson's *The Sea Around Us* were read to subjects by different readers. While one voice was reading, coins were pushed toward the subjects; while the second voice was reading coins were taken away from the pile before the subjects. When subjects heard a tape containing a mixture of the two voices, they consciously heard only the voice associated with gaining money.(42)

Another strategy which effectively multiplies a foundation's influence involves financial support for various agencies which in effect become the foundation's surrogates. Some examples:

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The Southern Regional Council (SRC) which from 1953 to 1977 received $8.6 million from the Foundation. (43) It was no accident that Ford money began flowing into SRC accounts the very year arguments were heard by the U.S. Supreme Court in litigation involving *Brown Brown vs Board of Education*, which was to set the stage for nationwide school desegregation. Activities of the Southern Regional Council sound like a drum-roll of activist causes. Some SRC activities:

Reported results of (SRC) interviewing superintendents of public schools and principals in eleven states. Findings: black children will benefit from busing. (44)

Published *"Desegregation and quality education: Quality and equality in our schools"* by Meyer Weinberg, who edits *Integrated Education*. This quarterly has, for almost two decades, served as the primary pro-busing periodical; it has proven to be influential with school administrators and thus has influenced policies. Invariably, *Integrated Education* has reported benefits from forced busing which, other researchers find to be non-existent. (45)

Published *Three Myths: An exposure of popular misconceptions about school desegregation*. (46) The author? Again, Meyer Weinberg, assisted by others.

Supported a study on ability grouping in southern schools. The findings? Tracking should be outlawed since it leads to a new form of segregation. Authors Roger Mills and Miriam Bryan give little attention to evidence that some form of ability grouping is necessary to maintain the quality of education.(47)

Financed Leon Kamin, Chairman, Department of Psychology, Princeton University, to write a paper which argued that IQ tests serve as instruments of oppression. (48) Much of the material gathered in this study was later used by CBS in a special TV feature "The IQ Myth" which advanced as fact a number of highly questionable premises.

Underwrote a symposium with presentations by Leon Kamin, assisted by Winifred Green, on the thesis that testing is harmful to minority and poor children. (49)

Paid for some costs associated with hearings before the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity of the U.S. Senate. (50) Here, the SRC formed an alliance with other activist groups. Meyer Weinberg and the Harvard University Center for Law and Education separately presented papers op-

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posing ability grouping; excerpts on the book *Institutional Racism in America* were orally delivered before the Senate Committee.

In a special report, claimed that the Nixon administration had retreated on school desegregation. (51)

Sponsored the study "Atlanta and Washington – Racial Differences in academic achievement." by Frank Stallings. (52) This text is devoted to assertions about desegregation-related learning benefits which are not scientifically demonstrable or verifiable.

The interrelationship of the Ford-Rockefeller Foundations with the federal bureaucracy and with civil rights organizations is apparent from the observation that Dr. Robert L. Green, Dean of the College of Urban Development at Michigan State University, sits on the Center's Advisory Council. Through the Rockefeller Foundation, Green has received grants totalling hundreds of thousands of dollars to deal with problems associated with school desegregation. As a member of the travelling legal-social team headed by activist attorney Lucas, Green has testified that forced busing would promote achievement of minority children, and has espoused related educational causes which, while revered by the left, and often affirmed by courts, are empirically unverified.

The Brookings Institute has underwritten activities of various scholars, the most noteworthy being Gary Orfield, professor of political science at the University of Illinois and a member of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois. Orfield is perhaps the nation's most prominent advocate of metropolitan busing. With aid from Ford, some of it funneled through Brookings, Orfield has taken leadership of a team of scholars which has produced a flurry of writings used to accelerate metropolitan-wide school and housing desegregation. The 1979 Ford Report lists a number of Ford contributions to Brookings, under different categories. Some illustrations: Financing and Management of Higher Education, $72,000; Center for Policy Analysis, $100,000; Urban Research, Training and Policy Analysis, $60,400.

The Center for National Policy Review, located in Washington, D.C. at the School of Law, Catholic University of America, has received major annual operating grants from the Ford Foundation since its inception in 1970. Additional funding has

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come from other foundations, including the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Carnegie Corporation, and the Rockefeller, Taconic, J.M. Kaplan, New World and other foundations. (53) Acknowledging its "advocacy" role, the Center's latest available Annual Report notes that it must remain "substantially independent of federal funding." (54) However, it has received assistance from a surprisingly large number of federal agencies: The National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Education, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the Legal Services Corporation, and the Departments of Justice and Housing Urban Development. (55)

Director and founder of the Center is William L. Taylor, formerly Staff Director for the United States Commission on Civil Rights and attorney for the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. (56) Taylor is a member of the Executive Committee of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and Chairman of its Committee on Federal Compliance and Enforcement.

Publications of the Center reveal a steady emphasis on group-rights. It has claimed credit in responding to "the most serious threat" of the Mottle Amendment in Congress, which would have required all children to be assigned to the schools nearest to their homes. (57) In efforts to stop the Amendment, the Center alerted civil rights groups, educators, lawyers and others to the provisions of the Amendment and its implications as the Center perceived them. Mr. Taylor participated in several briefings of representatives to discuss the potential damage that the Mottle Amendment might do to the Constitution, and to the cause of public education and civil rights.

In 1979, the Center received $150,000 from Ford to "monitor HEW's performance and continue an intern program to give law students practical experience in civil rights cases at the federal policy-making level, with emphasis on metropolitan-wide desegregation strategies."

An even more ambitious project involved teaming up between The Center for National Policy Review and the Joint Center for Political Studies to which the Foundation granted $900,000 in 1980. The primary objective of the Joint Center is to help minorities take a more active part in politics and to enhance their effectiveness, as elected or appointed officials, at every level of government, In addition to publishing profiles of

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black elected officials, the center analyzes elections, voting patterns, and laws and policies affecting voting rights. It is currently working with national black organizations to reduce voter apathy, with the aim of raising black voter registration by 20 per cent in fifty target cities during the 1980 national election.

In recent years, the Center has helped secure compliance with agreements to cease "redlining" and other "discriminatory" mortgage practices by banks and savings and loan associations. It has also worked with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) on economic and racial integration in housing and community development programs.

A law student intern program has substantially expanded the capacity of the center's small staff. The center's reputation for accurate data and analysis, combining experience in governmental process and knowledge of civil rights issues, makes it a frequently consulted resource for civil rights groups, members of Congress, and government agency staffs. (58)

Besides busing, the Center lends legal and financial support to 1) efforts aimed at establishing job quotas and affirmative action, 2) efforts to bring about enforced, involuntary desegregation of housing, 3) efforts to identify alleged bias in aptitude and minimum competency testing, and 4) reflecting views of the Joint Center challenge or otherwise influence state textbook authorities in the selection of approval of school textbooks. Mr. Taylor's comments reflecting views of the Joint Center are regularly reviewed in media which endorse preselected social change, such as the *New York Times,* the *Washington Post* and *Star*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Boston Globe*. (59) In 1979, Ford gave the *Institute for Educational Leadership* at George Washington University a $900,000 supplementary grant, bringing its total support from 1971-79 to $6.7 million. (60) The Institute purportedly seeks to inform federal and state officials, along with journalists, legislators and educational administrators, on a wide variety of complex financial, political and social factors that underlie educational policy decisions affecting schools and colleges. Consistently, the IEL advocates group-rights positions. Joining with the influential *Charles F. Kettering Foundation*, Ford contributed $25,000 for a mediation program aimed at reconciling conflicts among federal, state and local governments over their respective

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programs in urban areas. (61) One of Ford's most fruitful of alliances has been with *The National Project and Task Force on Desegregation Strategies* (NPTFDS). In combining forces with this organization, Ford has linked up the Education Commission of the States, the National Association of State Boards of Education, and the Council of Chief State School Officers.(62) NPTFDS has received funding from the Ford Foundation and regularly, albeit sometimes indirectly, the two most influential government education agencies: the National Institute of Education and the U.S. Office of Education. Quite obviously, political advantage is produced by pooling strategies in such powerful circles.

Regularly, the nation's educators and government leaders receive NPTFDS' publications. These advance, without exception, a cluster of group-rights causes: forced and metropolitan-wide school busing and integrated housing, elimination of standardized IQ tests, revision of placement policies to impose ethnic quotas in classrooms for the retarded, urging Hispanic parents to abandon their preference for neighborhood schools and bilingual education. Contributors to NPTFDS publications include Gary Orfield and David Tatel, who formerly directed the U.S. Office of Civil Rights. (63) In accordance with the law, the NPTFDS dutifully states, in each of its publications, that "The views expressed herein are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the view of the National Project and Task Force." Yet over the years not a single contributor has presented the case for individual rights.

Changing Public Policy

An examination of the backdrop of a nationally disseminated report, widely distributed by the national wire services and the United States Commission on Civil Rights, reveals just how smoothly a Foundation can work to bring about social change. Across the nation, in late 1980 and early 1981, Americans were told that a study had found that busing promoted racially-integrated housing. The Director of the experiment, Diana Pearce, was quoted as saying that metropolitan busing gave whites no place to run and enticed them to remain in integrated areas where their children could attend neighborhood schools. Says Pearce: "Metropolitan busing is perhaps the most effective phenomenon ever found to break up the nation's segregated

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housing patterns." (64) UPI noted that the findings of Pearce's research were disclosed days after the Senate passed anti-busing legislation, and a conservative research group urged President Reagan to end federal support of cross-district school busing.

A quick look at the study reveals two intriguing observations: Pearce entitled the experiment, *"Breaking down barriers: New evidence on the impact of metropolitan school desegregation on housing patterns."* (65) The title itself is hardly suggestive of an objective examination! Moreover, Pearce assumed that black schools are associated with low educational quality: Yet Derrick Bell, the (black) Harvard law professor, considers such an inference to be racist. (66)

Empirically, the study comes off badly. Pearce did find evidence that many middle class whites and blacks felt they could not afford to live in areas that did not have busing. But these parents considered themselves forced to tolerate busing, and Pearce noted evidence that some of the neighborhoods studies did reveal housing "instability": Apparently once black or white middle class parents scraped up enough money, they then sought to escape areas with integrated housing in search of non-integrated areas free from busing. This left "integrated" areas increasingly to poor people: a consequence of "middle class flight" that has been reported in many communities.

The study glosses over additional flaws. Seven pairs of cities were studied, but, because of incomplete statistics, comparisons could be drawn from only four pairs. Some data were drawn from questionable sources, including the Office of Civil Rights data on school racial compositions, interviews with housing officials, and contacts with open housing advocates and civil rights lawyers as well as those in charge of an open housing group's newsletter. Even the definition of "segregated housing" is flawed. Pearce assumes, as did Taeuber in his *Milliken vs Bradley* testimony, that white-imposed segregation occurs unless each census tract has the same proportion of minorities as the city itself. It ignores the observation of Sowell and other minority scholars, who insist that some blacks simply prefer to live with other blacks in predominantly black areas, much as Swedes may prefer to live near Swedes. (67)

The Pearce study was obviously intended to influence governmental policy formulations, and the funding of the experiment therefore deserves attention, Pearce's home station is none

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other than the Center for National Policy Review of the Catholic University of America. It has been noted previously that the Center states that a prime objective is to seek to aid civil rights and policy groups before federal administrative agencies. The direct costs of the Pearce study were assumed by the U.S. National Institute of Education which, intentionally or not, has become a Ford ally in the accelerated drive for social change. That drive has now become focused on some of the most essential demological characteristics of any society: where children attend school, where families live, and where adults are employed. In each area, the activism funded by tax-exempt foundation grants seems determined to use all possible allies in its quest to strip choice away from individual citizens.

Busing, Housing, Jobs

In 1979, Ford funded *Racial Segregation: Two Policy Views*. (68) The introduction, written by Harold Howe II, Vice President for Education and Research, notes that "The efforts of the Ford Foundation to assist school desegregation go back as far as the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in Brown vs Board of Education of Topeka . . ." Howe observes that one of the purposes in publishing the book was to determine whether further grants might be useful in promoting:

> "clearer thinking in this thorny area by officials in the many Washington offices that affect racial living and schooling patterns . . . These papers have already been used as a basis for informal discussions with a number of Federal officials in the departments of Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, Justice and other agencies. They have stimulated some useful explorations and even a few actions by persons genuinely interested in improving the federal government's performance in its antidiscrimination responsibilities . . . The papers argue for stronger coordination among HEW, HUD and Justice and in enforcement of the Law and for more comprehensive planning for litigation. Their common assumption is that with leadership and imagination the intractable difficulties of delivering the promises of the *Brown* decision can be overcome."

In token recognition of the legal theory that the Foundation be objective on controversial issues, Howe states that the views

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expressed are those of the publication's authors. Yet it is unlikely that Howe had any real doubt as to the positions the two selected authors would take on some of the most debatable issues in contemporary America – the two contributors to the book are Gary Orfield and William Taylor, who have been mentioned above.

Racial Segregation: Two Policy Views is an advocacy publication. In it Orfield approvingly notes that Congress in 1968 enacted the largest housing subsidy program in American history, giving the government unprecedented leverage over the housing market. His central argument: government should coordinate its activities and press for litigation which accelerates school and housing desegregation. On some very basic issues Orfield either arrives at entirely fallacious conclusions and on others he is guilty of producing only partial information. He states that "four studies of black attitudes in communities with metropolitan-wide busing plans found large majorities supporting them in the black community, in spite of the unequal burden of (school) busing on black children." He fails to cite numerous other polls which have found most black parents opposed to busing; (69) he does not mention black leaders like Tony Brown of *The Black Journal* who asserts that:

> ". . . There is a significant silent Black majority view on busing that is virtually never heard. Because Black leaders are the only members of the Black community who get media exposure, the public only hears their perceptions of busing for integration purposes, and Black leaders are overwhelmingly in favor of busing. . . . Whites who oppose busing must lose their fear of being called racists and Blacks must stop the automatic adoption of integration as a cure-all for the problems of Black children. Both must embrace a higher principal of truth: It is not necessarily good or bad because it is Black or White. It is good or bad because it does or does not work." (70)

Orfield concluded by noting that since his paper was first prepared and discussed in Washington there have been "a number of signs of interest in coordinated civil rights enforcement and some significant policy or organization initiatives involving housing, education and legal sectors of the government."

No less partisan than Orfield, Taylor captions his article,

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"Mounting a concerted federal attack on urban segregation: a preliminary exploration." Throughout, he presses the argument that issues involving schools, housing and jobs are inter-related. A central assumption is that school desegregation will improve the skills of minority young people so they can compete more successfully on the job market. Again, no mention is made of research which conflicts with his assumption. Taylor fails to mention evidence that desegregated schools do not promote improved minority learning. In fact, scattered reports are now appearing in the literature, which suggest that minority children may learn more effectively within their own neighborhoods, even if those neighborhoods are predominantly black. (71)

Meanness Mania

In 1981 the Institute for the Studies of Educational Policy (ISEP) and Howard University distributed a brochure which advertised one of their new publications: *Meanness Mania: The Changed Mood.* The book is reported to describe the present mood in America as a

> "feeling of meanness that denotes selfishness, stinginess and malice toward further educational and economic opportunities for the traditionally oppressed. In a clear and steady voice this new book identifies and challenges the old-line conservatives and turn-coat liberals who are the carriers of this attitude." (72)

The book's chief targets: those who oppose job quotas, those who advocate using ability or achievement tests for purposes of developing individualized learning, those who seek to limit federal spending, and those who favor the right of each child to attend his or her neighborhood school.

Meanness Mania was published by Howard University, but only with Ford dollars, and then through a second Party, ISEP. Indeed the entire ISEP operation was established by Ford in March 1974. Drawing upon guidance from an influential National Advisory Board, the Institute regularly publishes books intended to "assess the impact of law and social science research on the status of blacks in higher eduction." (73) Through publications, forums and public testimony, the Institute disseminates comments on issues ranging from the *Bakke* case on affirmative action to "truth in testing" legislation.

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Overview of Grant Trends

The latest available information on Ford activities reveals that social activism retains high priority. The impact of some grants cannot be determined solely through the titles: the gift of the Atlantic University Center to "strengthen institutions of higher education" is not self-explanatory.(74) But the consequences of many grants awarded during the past several years can be gauged through even the brief subtitles. Some illustrations:

$77,000 for a book on government challenges to racial desegregation by Paul R. Dimond, former director of the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, (74) an organization that has enjoyed large grants from Ford, Rockefeller and other private foundations.

$100,000 to support a panel, composed of leading scholars, attorneys and civil rights strategists, which will enable professors to respond better to requests from district courts and other agencies for technical assistance on matters involving school desegregation. (76)

$25,000 to assist Meyer Weinberg in moving his library and files to the University of Massachusetts (Amherst). At Amherst, Weinberg will continue to publish the journal *Integrated Education* which presumably documents results of school desegregation; in fact the journal has published a good deal of debatable research which, reinforced by the prestige of the well-financed Ford-funded periodical, was able to influence court decisions.(77)

$7,500 to the Council of Anthropology and Education, to promote the work of social scientists "who come close to the front lines of the school desegregation struggle." (78) Results will be published in *The Equal Opportunity News.*

Published Segregation and Opportunity in the Region's Housing, prepared by Boris Pushkarev and Ruth Plawner. Here it is argued that despite fair housing laws, racial discrimination continues to hinder free choice in housing selection by both whites and blacks. It is assumed that "segregation" occurs if blacks prefer to live in largely black areas. Forced housing is proposed; possible locations within the region for future development of moderate-to-low-income housing. (79)

Awarded a two year grant of $850,000 to National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing to continue research, litigation and technical assistance to local fair-housing groups. (80)

Designated $560,000 to the NAACP Special Contribution

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Fund to eliminate discrimination in education, housing, employment and veterans' affairs; separately, earmarked $450,000 to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; also, awarded National Urban League for programs. (81)

$25,000 to the California Council for the Humanities in Public Policy, to provide televised coverage of desegregation in the Los Angeles public schools. (82)

$12,832 to the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, to promote a women's research journal entitled *Resources for Feminist Research.* (83)

Granted renewed assistance to the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund ($700,000); the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund ($225,000); the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU: $400,000); and the Women's Legal Defense Fund ($150,000). (84)

Designated two separate grants – $24,617 to the American Friends Service Committee and $20,940 to Stanford University – to deal with problems stemming from school busing and involving disproportionately high suspension and disciplinary rates of minority and majority students. (85) (In many school districts, teacher anxiety over punishing minority students runs high; rather than risk allegations of racism, some teachers allow permissive conditions to prevail.)

Awarded $66,528 to the Southern Coalition for Educational Equity, a federation of educators, lawyers and civil rights organizations from eleven states. The coalition will continue collecting and publicizing civil rights data. (86)

Granted $77,228 to the American Association of School Administrators, the umbrella organization for the project. This will be used to develop a resource center on non-sexist material to enhance equity.

Gave dozens of grants to the Education Commission of the States; including $145,000 for seminars dealing with school desegregation, school funding, competency tests, labor relations and education for the disadvantaged. (88)

$100,000 to Brookings Institute to support a study of the 1980 federal budget, under a continuing series captioned "Setting National Priorities." (89)

$219,240 to the Institute for Judicial Administration, which is affiliated with New York University of Law, to continue case

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studies that enable judges and civil rights attorneys to see what happens as a result of court-ordered busing. The Institute's honorary chairman: the U.S. Supreme Court's Chief Justice Warren E. Burger. (90)

Helped finance, at an undisclosed cost, an analysis by Duke University Institute of Policy Science and Public Affairs (A Ford-supported Institute) to contest the view of James S. Coleman, author of the pivotal 1966 report *Equality of Educational Opportunities*, that forced busing has few positive effects on minority school achievement. (91)

Foundation monies were also awarded to a variety of universities and agencies, some of whose purposes are unclear: Institute of Judicial Administration; Institute for Services to Education; and Institute for Southern Studies. Additionally, $160,258 was marked for the National Organization of Women (NOW) Legal Defense and Education Fund under the category "Monitoring law and regulations related to Women's Rights; in the category "Research training, conferences and publication," the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund received an additional $99,125. (92) Not a dime was given to NOW's chief counterpart, Phyllis Schafly's "Eagle Forum."

The Foundations: Could They Pass Muster on Congressional Investigation?

Not since 1969 has Congress seriously reviewed the manner in which nonprofit foundations are dispensing tax exempt funds. Congressional reluctance to consider the merit of updated reform may be associated with broad public support for many charitable activities. After all, Robert Wood Johnson, the second largest of the foundations with $44.8 million in 1979 grants, has maintained a steady focus on noncontroversial awards. Awards from the Johnson Foundation have promoted the structure and distribution of frontline and ambulatory health care. (93) Moreover, most Americans genuinely appreciate activities of such organizations as the Mount Palomar Observatory, National Gallery of Art, Julliard School of Music, National Academy of Sciences, Tuskegee Institute, and the Smithsonian Institute; these, with hundreds of other nonpolitical organizations, rely at least partially on support from the nonprofit sector. And yet, as the Reagan election demonstrated, majority public opinion does not support social activism oriented toward *group*-rights.

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Perhaps Congressional reluctance to again target the foundations is associated not so much with altruism as with simple self-interest. It is no fun confronting giants. Any reexamination of foundation activities might surely lead to an eyeball to eyeball faceoff with Ford – largest of the foundations: Ford has the most skilled lawyers and the largest bankroll of the 26,000 foundations - in 1979 it held total assets of $2.29 billion and it dispensed grants worth $146.91 million.(94) It has more than gotten its money's worth, considering the influence-multiple acquired through joint efforts with other funds and governmental agencies. If the law were to be interpreted as it is written, then it seems inevitable that investigations would be asked to inquire whether Ford has moved into politics.

Available evidence indicates that Ford officials have communicated with government employees in roles other than making available results of "non-partisan analysis, study or research." There is no evidence that scholars who enunciate the individual rights perspective have been employed by the Foundation in assessment of complex social issues. Moreover, certain Ford-financed publications have employed disparaging terms, and have made insinuations, innuendoes and suggested implications drawn from incomplete facts. When Franklin Thomas assumed presidency of the Foundation, he spoke approvingly of activism. Moreover, he almost defiantly announced that Ford money would go into the political sphere when he predicted that the Foundation's social activism might cause it to get its fingers burned. (95)

Beyond Legality: Can Individual Responsibility Be Revived?

Beyond the issue of legality, the still more important question remains: have foundations truly improved the lot of those they have sought to help? Says Alex Poinsett, editor of *Ebony* magazine: "Progress for blacks is an illusion." (96) But Poinsett then proceeds to plump the group-rights concept, which is exactly what government and the foundations have relied upon. Poinsett talks of the "threat" posed by individual-rights attitudes of conservative Republicans in the Reagan administration.

But can the perspective of individual rights be equated with a "*meanness mania*?" One of the clearest challenges to the group-rights theorem has been issued by Thomas Sowell, the (black) economist who questions traditional liberal approaches

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to minority issues. What particularly enrages Sowell is that many programs assume that blacks are unable to achieve incomes and occupations comparable to what other ethnic groups before them have attained. (97) Sowell opposes precisely what Ford and a large number of other foundations have underwritten. Some examples: job quotas, forced busing and housing, abandonment of objective tests, reduced university admissions standards for minorities and other endeavors based on the belief that special privileges must be given minorities. This, says Sowell, invites blacks to expect external forms of help, produces lower self expectations and reduces utilization of the inner resources which blacks, and members of all ethnic groups, possess.

Sowell's proposals parallel remarks in a *Time* editorial which argued that any real national change must be expressed in a sense of individual responsibility. Says *Time*: "It isn't enough to say that the Government has failed, that the System has failed. Such a charge frees individual citizens of blame, and also leaves them feeling like abjectly passive victims of immense conspiracies." (98) *Time* further argues that for more than a decade, Americans have tended to behave like submissive passengers aboard a national vehicle that veered unpredictably across the landscape. Sowell would say that, in a democracy, Americans must realize that they as individuals hold the key to their own fate. If for no other reason than that some foundations have launched ideological attacks on that very premise, disregarding the individual-rights perspective and irrespective of evidence that group-rights projects have adversely affected minority youth,(99) it seems increasingly likely that Congress will take another look at the activities of the tax-exempt nonprofit foundations.

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FOOTNOTES

(1) Rockefeller, John D. III. America's threatened third sector. *Reader's Digest*, April 1978, pp. 105-108.

(2) Branch, Taylor. The case against foundations. *Washington Monthly Vol. 3 (5)*, July 1971, pp. 3-18. See also *The Foundation Director, 7th Edition*, New York, 1979; also, Miller, James N. Are foundations an endangered species? *Reader's Digest*, July 1974, pp. 191-200.

(3) Branch, op. cit.

(4) Magat, Richard. *The Ford Foundation at work: Philanthropic choices, methods and styles*. New York: Plenum Press, 1979, p. 21.

(5) Hopkins, Bruce R. *The law of tax exempt organizations*. New York: Wiley & Sons, 1979, p. 352.

(6) Miller, op. cit.

(7) Rockefeller, op. cit.

(8) *U.S. News and World Report*, January 24, 1977, p. 62.

(9) Branch, op. cit.

(10) Miller, op. cit.; also, Branch, op. cit.

(11) Ibid; also, *Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report*. New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1960.

(12) The Rockefeller Foundation. *President's ten-year review and annual report 1971*. New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, p. 5.

(13) Raspberry, William. Racism: Individual or group problem? Syndicated column, February 19, 1981.

(14) The Rockefeller Foundation, 1971, op. cit., p. 5.

(15) Sowell, Thomas. *Knowledge and decisions*. New York: Basic Books, p. 265, 299+. Also, Eisner, Alan. Blacks join protest of busing. *Boston Herald American*, March 20, 1977; Ballenger, Robert. Mayor Bradley voices opposition to busing. *Evening Outlook*, October 16, 1979. Gallup, George. Busing views soften, but most blacks oppose. September 12, 1971. Since the early 1970s, and as blacks have actually experienced busing, minority opposition has risen. In 1980 separate polls by local newspapers revealed that Atlanta blacks opposed busing by approximately 3 to 1; in Detroit it was about 2½ to 1.

(16) Gerard, Harold B. and Miller, Norman. *School desegregation: A long term study*. New York: Plenum Press, 1975. Also, Stephan, Walter G. School desegregation: An evaluation of predictions made in *Brown vs Board of Education. Psychological Bulletin, Vol 85 (2)*, 1978, pp. 217-238.

(17) Scott, Ralph. *School desegregation and minority achievement: A research synthesis*. Alexandria, Virginia: American Education Legal Defense Fund. Also, Bradley, L.A. and Bradley, G.W. The academic achievement of black students in desegregated schools: A critical review. *Review of Educational Research, Vol. 47 (3)*, 1977, pp. 399-449. Also, Stephan, W.G., op. cit.

(18) Scott, Ralph. School desegregation: A challenge to American social science? *Journal of Social and Political Studies, Vol. 4 (1)*, Spring, 1979, pp. 67-80. Also, Ravitch, Diane. The White Flight controversy. *The Public Interest, No. 51*, Spring, 1975, pp. 135-149; although some Ford Foundation money has been expended seeking to demonstrate that "middle

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class flight" has not taken place, the Foundation awarded Boston University a grant of $24,857 to study reforms aimed at attracting the return of middle class students to the public schools (*Ford Foundation Letter, Vol. 10 (3)*, June 1979, p. 6.)

(19) The Rockefeller Foundation, 1971, op. cit., p. 59.

(20) *Annual (1979) Report: The Rockefeller Foundation.* New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1979.

(21) The 1979 Annual Report of the Center for National Policy Review carries a statement by Hesburgh on the inside cover. Here, Hesburgh is cited as President of the University of Notre Dame; no mention is made of his role on the Rockefeller Foundation. Hesburgh's opening statement: "No group has been more important or effective than the Center for National Policy Review in translating the civil rights legislation of the 1960s into concrete progress for the disadvantaged . . .(it has) helped immeasurably in getting the federal bureaucracy to carry out its obligation to secure the rights of racial minorities."

(22) Branch, op. cit.

(23) Miller, op. cit.

(24) Giddings, Paula. Franklin Thomas at the Ford Foundation: Heralding a New Era. *Encore,* November 19, 1979, pp. 34-37. Also, Miller, op. cit.; also, Branch, op. cit.

(25) Branch, op. cit.

(26) Miller, op. cit. Also, Branch, op. cit.

(27) Hopkins, Bruce, op. cit.

(28) Ibid, pp. 454-55. Also, *Code 4945; Reg. 53.4945-2(b), (c).*

(29) Hopkins, op. cit., pp. 454-55.

(30) Ibid, pp. 195-96. Also, Branch, op. cit. Miller, op. cit.

(31) Hopkins, op. cit. p. 455.

(32) Ibid, p. 196. Also, *Rev. Rul.68-263, 1968-1C.B.256.* In general, see Crumplar, Tax Consequences of Political Activity by Religious Organizations. V *The Christian Lawyer* (No. 2) 29 (1975); Garrett, Federal Tax Limitations on Political Activities of Public Interest and Educational Organizations, 59 Geo. L.J. 561 (1971); Note, Political Activity and Tax Exempt Organizations Before and After The Tax Reform Act of 1969, 38 G.W.U.L. Rev. 1114 (1970) Amer. Ent. Inst., *Political Activities of Colleges and Universities* (1970); Lehrfeld, How much "politicking" can a charitable organization engage in? 20 *Jour of Tax.* 236 (1968) Boehm, Political Expenditures by Tax-Exempt Organizations, 14 *Prac. Law.* 13 (1968); Note, Income Tax Disadvantages of Political Activities, 57 *Col. L. Rev.* 273 (1957).

(33) Branch, op. cit. Also, *Rev. Rul. 74-574, 1974-2C.B.160.*

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid.

(39) *Current activities of The Center for Law and Social Policy.* October, 1980, p. 3.

(40) Ibid.

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(41) Weiss, Carol H. *Using social research in public policy making.* Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1977, p. 8.

(42) Murphy, Gardner. *Outgrowing self deception.* New York: Basic Books, 1975.

(43) Magat, op. cit., p. 185

(44) Grigg, Charles M. *The southern experience with desegregation of public schools as viewed by superintendents of public schools and principals in eleven states.* Atlanta: Southern Regional Souncil, September, 1976 (56 pages). Also, in *Research in Education*, September, 1977 (ED 138659).

(45) Weinberg, Meyer. *Desegregation and quality education.* Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, September, 1976 (26 pages). Also, *Research in Education*, September 1977 (ED 138658).

(46) Weinberg, Meyer. *Three myths: An exposure of popular misconceptions about school desegregation.* Atlanta: Southern Education Foundation in association with Southern Regional Council. Also, *Research in Education*, September 1977, ED 138657.

(47) Mills, Roger and Bryan, Miriam M. *Grouping: The New Segregation in Southern Schools.* Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1976 (82 pages) Also, in *Research in Education*, March 1977, ED 131124.

(48) Kamin, Leon. IQ tests as instruments of oppression — From immigration quotas to welfare. *South Today*, July 1973, pp. 4-10. Also, EJ 082162.

(49) Kamin, Leon and Green, Winifred. Transcripts from the Southern Regional Council's Symposium on Human Intelligence, Social Science and Social Policy. Text of Dr. Kamin's presentation denying that proof exists that IQ test scores are hereditary; how testing harms children; IQ tests as instruments of oppression. Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1973. Also, in *Research in Education*, March, 1974 (ED 084318).

(50) U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, Ninety-Second Congress, First session on equal educational opportunity, Part 20 — Unequal school practices. Washington, D.C., November 8, 1971. Also cited in *Research in Education*, June 1972 (ED 060147).

(51) Barker, Horace. The federal retreat in school desegregation: Special Report. *Research in Education*, August, 1970 (ED 038436).

(52) Stallings, Frank H. Atlanta and Washington — Racial differences in academic achievement. *Research in Education*, 1966, ED 001966.

(53) *Annual Report (1979) Center for National Policy Review (CNPR).* Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of American School of Law, p. 24.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Ibid, p. 23.

(57) Ibid, p. 8.

(58) Analysts of equal opportunity. *Ford Foundation Letter, Vol. 11 (4)*, August, 1980, p. 5.

(59) *Annual Report, CNPR*, op. cit., p. 22.

(60) *Ford Foundation Letter*, February 1980.

(61) Ibid, *Vol. 11 (1)*, February 1980, p. 7.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION

By William R. Kintner

Enough time has gone since the United States hostages were released on January 20, 1981, to review how the U.S. got into the mess in Iran with the hopes of avoiding a repeat performance.

One can only speculate why such a revealing article, "Did We Avert a Bloodbath in Iran?," so potentially compromising to the Carter Administration, appeared in the *Washington Post* on January 13, 1980. Written by Richard T. Sale, a foreign correspondent in Iran in 1976, it has the feel of coming directly out of the mouth of a Carter Administration horse. Presumably Mr. Sale's article was designed to smother criticism of General Robert Huyser's controversial mission to Iran in January 1979, just prior to the Shah's departure. But the article also tells a great deal about the Administration's inconsistent policy toward Iran, particularly about contacts between Carter Administration officials and Khomeini and his representatives, shortly after President Carter took over the Oval Office.

Following the November 1979 seizure of the American Embassy in Teheran and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan by Soviet forces, the world is in the midst of the greatest crisis since the outbreak of the Second World War. President Carter made that assertion in his January 20 interview on "Meet the Press." In this interview President Carter denied that any policy programs and actions taken during his presidency had influenced the Soviet decision to invade Afghanistan, and thus to raise the crisis level in the Persian Gulf area several notches higher than that already generated by the illegal retention of the U.S. embassy and U.S. hostages in Teheran.

Enough information is now available to show that President Carter's policies toward Iran played a major role in destabilizing that country, culminating in the departure of the Shah on January 17, 1979. When things in Iran began to fall apart at an accelerating rate in December 1978, the Carter Administration claimed that it was surprised by the turmoil and blamed U.S. intelligence agencies, particularly the CIA, for botching its job. The truth of the matter is that the Administration knew

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as much if not more than the Shah as to what was going on in his country.

In his *Washington Post* article, Richard Sale frequently gave as his sources high State Department officials. President Carter's people had been dealing with Khomeini since March of 1977. The Shah's departure was being discussed as a serious opinion that same year. National Security Council (NSC) staffer Robert Hunter, who was then involved with the European area, played a key part, according to one of Mr. Sale's sources.

In October 1977, a symposium jointly sponsored by the Institute for International Political and Economic Studies of Teheran and Stanford Research Institute was held in Washington, D.C.. Many top Carter Administration officials attended the symposium, including Samuel Huntington, National Security Council; Anthony M. Solomon, Under Secretary of the Treasury; and Sidney Sober, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. That conference agreed that the "tension between the Western-educated elite and an increasingly politically-conscious mass with little direct say is likely to develop into a major political theme in the years ahead."

The symposium report also noted that this potential confrontation was abetted by the Carter Administration emphasis on human rights. Iran had frequently been a target of a highly selective attack on this issue – treated in the same fashion as Chile and South Korea. One American diplomat observed: "Carter's human-rights campaign nudged the Shah into making changes. Now the left blames the President for not pressing harder, and the right and center blame him for the riots."

The Carter policy toward Iran became increasingly ambivalent – working with the Shah on the surface, but unhappy with his mode of rule and casting approving glances at the Islamic fanatic who might replace him.

Was the President aware of what was going on in the woodwork of his Administration? If so, his trip to Iran on New Year's Eve 1978 seems inexplicable. The Shah of Iran welcomed President and Mrs. Carter to Iran with these words: "We cherish your arrival as the head of state of a country with which Iran always had unshakeable bonds."

In reply, President Carter stated: "My own nation has been blessed this year by an official visit of His Imperial Majesty, the Shah and by the Shahbanou, Empress Farah." He continued: "I

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am proud and pleased to be able to come to Iran at the end of this year, my first year in office . . . to begin another new year with our close friends and allies." After paying tribute to the Shah's leadership in the energy area, the President concluded his remarks by observing that "our military alliance remains unshakeable."

During the remainder of 1978, the Carter Administration knew what was going on in Iran. General Huyser visited there in the Spring of that year and reported his impressions to General Haig, who relayed them to Washington. The Shah did have a health problem, was becoming isolated, and perhaps some form of a constitutional monarchy might be devised.

Meanwhile, according to Mr. Sale, a faction within the Carter Administration wanted Khomeini as the Shah's successor. Meetings between Carter Administration envoys (such as former Attorney General Ramsey Clark) and Khomeini's people were taking place in both the United States and France. By November 1978, the State Department had practically settled on Khomeini.

About that time things began to come unstuck in Teheran. Not certain that there would be a happy ending to the unfolding scenario which his Administration had helped write, President Carter began castigating his old friend, Admiral Stansfield Turner, Director of the CIA, for inadequate intelligence on Iran.

It became public knowledge that the President was unhappy with the failure of the intelligence community to warn of the upheaval in Iran, which had intensified in October and November. President Carter sent a note, dated November 11, to Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, national security affairs adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, and Central Intelligence Agency Director Stansfield Turner. The note said, "I am not satisfied with the quality of political intelligence."

The main force of the criticism was directed at Admiral Turner. As CIA director, he was held responsible for political intelligence collection and analysis. Nothing could have been further from the truth. The ambassador, not the CIA, is primarily responsible for reporting on political developments in the country to which he is assigned. The U.S. Ambassador to Teheran at the time was one of America's best: Mr. William Sullivan, who had previously served in the Philippines and Laos. It is inconceivable that he would not send Washington an accurate picture.

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The Huyser Mission

By this time the stage was being set for the Huyser mission. Around mid-December 1978, in the presence of U.S. officials, the Shah signed a compromise plan that had been arranged by two of Khomeini's top aides. Under its terms, the Shah was to leave Iran immediately but a four-man regency council would rule until other arrangements could be established.

In retrospect it appears that the U.S. thought it had worked out some sort of deal with Khomeini – involving the Shah's departure and neutralization of the Iranian military in return for future cooperation with the Paris-based Ayatollah. Yet there was apparently no unanimity in Washington policy circles. The Carter Administration had pushed harder to expel the Shah than to find an alternative who would work with the U.S. to maintain the stability of the Persian Gulf Area. At best they probably had some vague assurances from Khomeini that we could work with him.

Meanwhile, the Iranian generals were becoming restless. They did not look forward to seeing the Mullahs become their political masters. Several of them were planning to crush the Islamic Revolution and prevent the return of Khomeini, with or without the Shah's backing. President Carter decided to place all of the U.S. eggs in Iran into the Khomeini basket. This meant that a military coup had to be stopped. General Huyser, who knew the top Iranian generals very well, was chosen to do the job. Sometime in December 1978, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, General David Jones, placed a call to General Alexander Haig, Supreme Commander of our NATO forces in Europe, to inform him that President Carter wished to send Haig's deputy, General Huyser, to Teheran for meetings with the Iranian military leaders.

General Jones was asked if the purpose of the proposed Huyser mission was to tell the Shah to leave the country. General Jones stated that the mission was merely to ascertain that the Iranian military "remains unified during this difficult period." General Haig, who has one of the finest strategic noses of the U.S.A., smelled something rotten along the Potomac. He told General Jones that he opposed the Huyser mission for strategic reasons. A few days later the Deputy Secretary of Defense, Charles Duncan, called General Haig to tell him that the President had overruled him and that General Huyser would go to Teheran.

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No matter how one examines the Huyser mission, it is quite clear that there was no military coup in Iran and that after Khomeini's return most of the top generals were either executed, exiled or retired.

Charles Duncan, who is now Energy Secretary, acknowledges that the Iranian military "did not resist Ayatollah Khomeini" but describes as inaccurate the report by Richard Sale in *The Washington Post* that General Huyser was sent to stop a coup by Iranian generals.

General Huyser, an intelligent, loyal man, carried out his orders, probably without understanding the shoddy nature of his mission. On his trip he met the Shah only once in the company of Ambassador Sullivan. "The one thing that was on the minds of both of them," the Shah has written in his forthcoming book, "was to know on what day at what time I would be leaving."

As soon as the Shah left, Mr. Bakhtiar established a provisional government. President Carter contacted Khomeini and asked this anti-Western Islamic spiritual leader to give the Bakhtiar regime his support. Khomeini's response was to order an armed uprising of his revolutionary supporters against the disintegrating Iranian army. After two days the Iranian army stopped fighting, and Mr. Bakhtiar's government was finished. Mehdi Bazargan was appointed Prime Minister in his place.

For the remainder of 1979, the fundamentalist President Carter in the White House and the fundamentalist Ayatollah in Qom sparred with each other. The American Embassy was taken over briefly on February 14, 1979, but soon liberated. Despite this and other provocations, the Carter Administration apparently believed that it could work with the Bazargan regime, and through him eventually establish a *modus vivendi* with Khomeini. Overlooked was the fact that the Prime Minister was in constant conflict with Khomeini and his followers, claiming they were usurping his authority.

In August, to show our good will to Iran, President Carter approved the sale of about fifty million dollars worth of kerosene and diesel fuel to Iran. In the midst of his celebrated boat trip down the Mississippi, he told an audience at Burlington, Iowa, that the sale became necessary when a pipeline to an Iranian refinery was sabotaged and serious kerosene shortages occurred.

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Settling the Blame

President Carter has taken full responsibility for authorizing the Shah to come to the United States for medical treatment — the ultimate result of which was the seizure of the American embassy in Teheran. While he had been warned of the possibility of some hostile reaction in Iran, he accepted at face value the Iranian promise to the American government that the American embassy would be protected. The President conceded, in his TV interview on January 20, that he was shocked by the failure of the Iranian authorities to carry out their obligation. One can only speculate why greater unilateral U.S. actions, including increasing the Marine Guard detachment, were not taken before the seizure took place.

The last try to butter up the Ayatollah through Mr. Bazargan took place when President Carter's National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski arrived in Algiers on October 31, 1979 to help celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Algerian revolution against French rule. Among other participants at this celebration were Mr. Bazargan and Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Mr. Brzezinski used this visit to demonstrate President Carter's acceptance of the non-aligned movement and to talk with the Iranian Prime Minister.

On November 4, 1979 a mob of revolutionary students, with the connivance of Khomeini, seized the U.S. embassy in Teheran and captured some sixty hostages. Except for a few women and blacks who were returned to the U.S., these hostages were held for over a year. On the same date, an Iranian newspaper that spoke for the Islamic Revolutionary Council demanded that Mr. Bazargan explain what he had discussed with Mr. Brzezinski. The article said: "In these days when the leader of the revolution has launched the strongest attack on the world predator imperialists led by the United States, at a time when the United States, the United Kingdom and their allies plan plots against our people and every day confront the revolution, you, Mr. Bazargan, sit and talk with Brzezinski in Algeria." On November 5 Iran cancelled a 20-year-old defense agreement with the United States.

On November 6 President Carter dispatched Ramsey Clark, his pipeline to Khomeini, to go to Iran to plead for the release of the hostages. Mr. Clark reached Turkey but did not get into Iran. On November 7 Khomeini, calling the U.S. "our No. 1

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enemy," rejected talks with President Carter's representative. The Ayatollah said: "If the United States gives the Shah back to Iran and stops espionage against the revolution, the way to negotiations will be open in some cases."

The Shah died in Egypt. The politically inspired, abortive attempt to free the hostages by military action ended in predictable failure. The hostages were freed on Inaugration Day, January 20, 1981. President Carter's economic pressures had almost no effect, since few of our industrial allies cooperated in this endeavor. Apprehensive of a tougher bargaining position from President Reagan, Iran agreed to release the hostages in return for the release of billions of dollars of Iranian assets frozen in the United States.

The Soviets watched this demonstration of super-power impotence carefully and decided they could invade Afghanistan with impunity – and did just that.

U.S.-Soviet relations are in a state of acute crisis, which evolved directly from U.S. policies toward Iran. Those policies contributed greatly to the chaos now prevalent in that country, so harmful to us and so dangerous to the world.

The United States celebrated the return of the hostages as if it were a great victory. It was almost a perfect failure. What lesson can be learned? The United States should be wary of dumping its imperfect friends (Batista, Somoza and the Shah) before it knows the full hostility of their successors toward all that America treasures.

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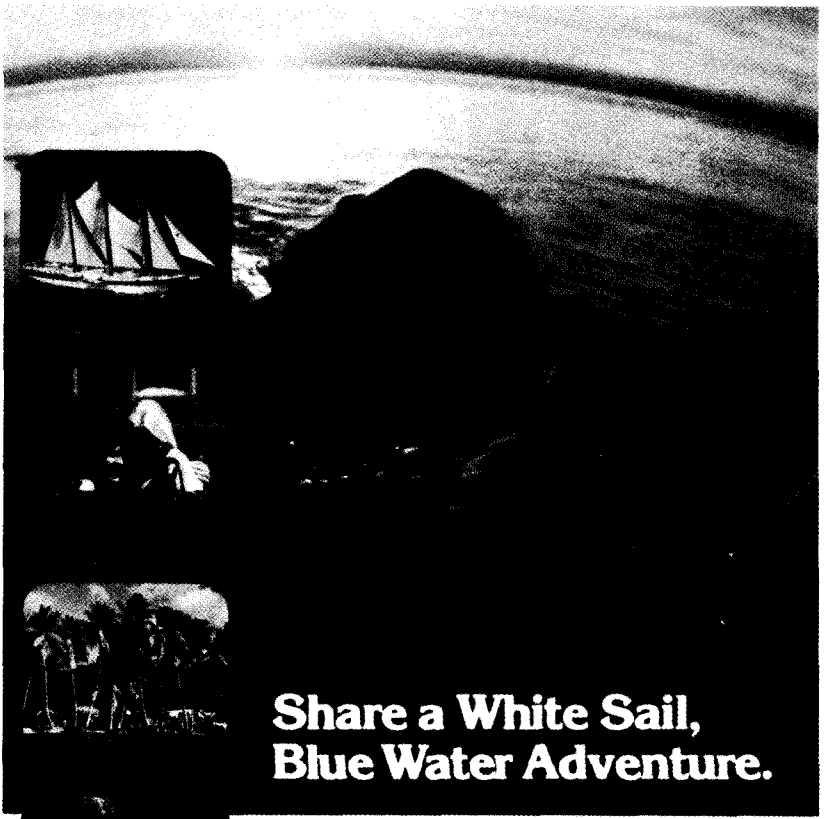

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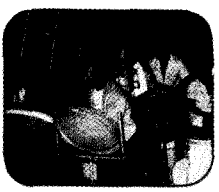

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REARMING THE U.S. AND BALANCING THE BUDGET

By Robert C. Richardson III

The cost of U.S. national defense could be the decisive element in the success or failure of the Reagan Administration. While the President is committed to controlling inflation, he is also committed to reestablishing an adequate defense posture vis-a-vis the USSR. The former requires reducing Federal spending; the latter requires massive increases in Federal spending — at least so it seems to casual observers. If one accepts these conclusions, both the overall reductions and large defense increases would have to come out of the non-defense sector of the budget which, in practice, means primarily out of social and health programs.

While there is some slack in the social and health programs — and some cuts and belt tightening in the interest of national security is acceptable — there is a limit to the amounts that can be taken from these without incurring an unacceptable level of political and public opposition. It is also clear that the 1.5 trillion defense spending through 1985 proposed by the Administration will not in itself meet the commitment to reestablish an adequate U.S. defense posture — the "Margin of Safety" called for by the President.

This situation, in a macro sense, leaves President Reagan with the following options:

A. He could risk more inflation, economic problems, and public criticism by continuing, if not increasing, deficit spending in order to give defense more than the 1.5 trillion now planned.

B. He could accept, and try to rationalize, a worsening military balance with attendant increase in national security risk by holding at or reducing the 1.5 trillion now planned or

C. He could meet both his security and economic commitments if the defense "Margin of Safety" could be obtained without additional massive increases in defense spending above the 1.5 trillion now planned.

Obviously, the last option, C above, is the most desirable, if it could be accomplished, and I submit that it can be accomplished provided those responsible for national defense: First,

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understand and examine all the factors that drive defense costs; and second, change those that have driven up costs without adding to real U.S. military capabilities.

If there is such a ready solution to this crucial problem why has it not been advocated, debated, and adopted? I suggest it hasn't, as yet, for a combination of reasons which include:

1. A general lack of understanding that this possibility exists.
2. An inherent and traditional resistance to changing anything affecting the defense establishment, other than force levels and weapon systems.
3. The fact that policies, strategies, organizations and procedures established over several decades become a "way of life" that is perceived as being largely inviolate — or even as optimum for national security — and
4. A degree of unwillingness to face the political, foreign policy, public opinion, and also traditional turf-guarding opposition that will surface in varying degrees on each of the changes required to make real savings without hurting defense capabilities.

The sum of the above four influences have so far limited the Administration's defense improvement efforts to essentially "throwing money" at the problem. While much of this was no doubt needed to bring existing forces back up to effective fighting standards, and to modernize or add to a few major existing weapon systems such as ships, missiles, and bombers, these steps alone will not achieve the desired "Margin of Safety."

Understanding the Possibilities

U.S. defense capabilities can be vastly increased while the cost of defense can be stabilized at roughly present levels in the Federal Budget by two relatively simple, yet so far ignored, actions.

One is to adjust all factors that affect the cost and effectiveness of our national security, so that they serve solely optimum defense purposes. Today, many of the policies, strategies, procedures , organizational structures, and even some of the weapon systems that determine U.S. defense costs and capabilities were dictated or heavily influenced by political, emotional, arms control, or other consideratons that had nothing to do with optimum warwaging considerations but increased costs or decreased effectiveness.

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Another, is to allow, if not insist, that U.S. defenses fully exploit the latest products of all technologies to accomplish their missions in the most effective way and at the least cost. Today, failure to fully exploit potential capabilities in military space systems, ABM systems, atomic weaponry, etc., detracts from effectiveness and adds to costs where less effective capabilities have to be substituted in greater quantities.

The classic presumption is that the size of the forces and hence their cost are solely determined by the scope and nature of the threat. While the threat is obviously a major factor, it is a factor we do not control. The method by which we counter the threat, our strategy, also has a major impact on the size hence cost of the forces required. This is something that we do control.

The cumulative impact of decisions motivated by political and arms control considerations since the early 1960s has resulted in billions of dollars of additional costs for our defenses and in greatly reduced military effectiveness. While some of these non-military influences may have been justified at the time on grounds of overall national interest, these should now be weighed against their cost in view of the importance of balancing the Federal Budget. At minimum, the Defense Department should not be solely blamed for taking such a large amount of money to do its job when so much of the money it needs results from political decisions.

Without passing judgment on the merits of each political, arms control, or managerial decisions that drives up defense spending, the following are examples of their influence.

-- The all-volunteer force can be attributed 100% to domestic politics. It has increased defense costs and reduced force readiness. It also has resulted in a shortage of military manpower and led to higher pay scales than would otherwise be necessary for military forces. This approach to manning our forces should now be reviewed.

— The prohibition on the fullest use of anti-ballistic missile defense systems was the product of dubious arms control aspirations of the 1960s. It has forced our ICBM defenses into very expensive passive survival modes, such as the MX Racetrack plan, by obliging the USAF to rely on these in lieu of logically dividing up survivability between: launch on warning, active defense systems

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(ABM), and passive protection means (hardening, mobility, and concealment.) U.S. strategic superiority cannot be economically reestablished until this non-military constraint on fielding a balanced offensive-defensive capability is removed.

– The prohibition on military space systems for offensive and defensive purposes channeled the strategic arms race into a costly quantitative competition with the U.S.S.R. in ICBMs, SLBMs and bomber systems. It has precluded U.S. development of the type of exclusive new "cutting edge" strategic delivery and defense systems that in the 1950s and 1960s offset Soviet quantitative superiority in both strategic and conventional forces.

– The political decision to maintain major conventional warwaging forces in vital areas, such as in NATO and in the Persian Gulf – forces that are inadequate to oppose the principal threat, the Soviet "main force" – has resulted in the investment of millions of dollars annually to support and maintain forces overseas that cannot be sustained in combat for more than 120 days if that. This raises the following questions: Would a war with Soviet forces last less than 120 days? Why? Would the Soviets accept defeat in any major confrontation before resorting to atomic weapons if the U.S. conventional forces were to be successful? Why? What happens on the 121st day? And, if we almost certainly were forced to resort to nuclear weapons, or accept defeat, as would now be the case, is the cost of the 120 day conventional conflict a valid defense requirement or is it only a sop to anti-nuclear attitudes?

– The NATO strategy of Conventional-Flexible Response was imposed on our allies in 1967 by Secretary McNamara to replace the 1956 Eisenhower strategy of Tactical Atomic Response From The Onset. This politically motivated change in NATO strategy was adopted to foster a higher nuclear threshold in major theaters like NATO in furtherance of anti-nuclear and arms control aspirations. It has added the risk and loss of effectiveness inherent in the possible need to switch to tactical atomic combat in a losing conventional situation. It has raised the cost of NATO defenses by pre-

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cluding the economies in relative conventional mass, and in conventional force sustainability, that were contemplated under the Eisenhower strategy. Can the U.S. afford this "conventional-interlude" strategy today when we no longer have the strategic superiority needed to deter a Soviet nuclear initiative should our conventional defenses prove unsuccessful?

– Major savings and improved readiness for war conditions could be had by revising the 1947 Unification Act. The Defense organization it created was a political compromise that maintained elements of the traditional services and pre-WWII defense structure at the expense of economy, efficiency, and effective control of military operations in the event of a sudden nuclear war. There is no Commander-in-Chief or operations staff in being, and there are excessive peacetime management layers, duplication, and built-in rivalry in the JCS and three service structure. At a minimum, a unified material and systems command should be established to deal with industry with one voice and an overall Commander with a general staff should be ready to direct worldwide military operations on D-Day. Were this done massive reductions could be made by eliminating most of the service secretaries and staffs as well as the duplicative research development, and procurement headquarters.

– Lastly, the placing since the 1960s of both deterrence of wars and arms control considerations ahead of warfighting capabilities as national defense objectives precluded the exploitation of the superior U.S. technology, engineering and management that could have maintained U.S. strategic and overall military superiority. New "cutting edge" strategic and nuclear weapons were cancelled, modified, or delayed in the name of arms control and anti-nuclear aspirations. This in turn channeled the arms competition into a costly "tail chase" after the Soviets wherein relative quantities and survivabilities of ICBMs, submarines, and bombers of roughly equivalent performance became the criterion for military power. This is a contest in which the U.S. is ill-prepared socially or economically to compete with communist societies.

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And In Procurement

Major economies could also be made by returning to the pre-1960 weapon procurement practices as well as by some of the above changes in strategy and organization. The low risk, "building block" weapon procurement policies, and associated voluminous procurement regulations introduced by Secretary of Defense Robert Strange McNamara were adopted to meet political and managerial aspirations at the expense of cost and military effectiveness. They resulted in stretching out what had been, in the 1950s, an average of six years to acquire a new, advanced, strategic weapon system into over 13 years by 1980. The increase in weapon costs that results from this are obvious.

Much of this time is now lost in Gallup poll type decision making which seems to be the result of overcentralization of authority and the unwillingness to take risk. Six years are often devoted nowadays to establishing a new operational requirement and selecting the weapon systems to be developed to meet it. In the days when the authority to decide was at levels of expertise and competence to do so responsible chiefs told industry and their subordinates what to acquire. Now vendors and bureaucrats analyze to death alternatives and then propose what should be acquired in the hope they can convince the political authorities to agree.

Another wasteful and costly practice introduced for managerial or political reasons is to insist contractors meet such specific and detailed performance and other requirements that savings through suggested innovations or alternatives are impossible. This can result in the last 10% additional performance doubling the cost when the 90% economically attainable would have been sufficient for the purpose of the system.

The McNamara "building block" approach to new weapons developments also made it all but impossible for the U.S. to retain superiority in strategic weaponry in the 1960s and 1970s by, in effect, guaranteeing technological obsolescence for those systems purchased. Obviously, under the "building block" approach no new technologies that come into hand during the four to six years of engineering, test, and production – common to all new weapons – will appear in new systems except as retrofits.

Fortunately the conditions that have driven up costs are recognized by the Reagan Administration. Dr. De Lauer the

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new Under Secretary of Defense for R&D, chaired a study group in 1977 that identified most of these problem areas. So did Deputy Secretary's Carluici's *Report on Acquisition,* published last April. Unfortunately while the problems are known, and corrective actions have been called for there seems to be a cultural inability on the part of the bureaucracy to fully implement these.

If the Administration of President Reagan has the courage to address some if not all the above cost influencing considerations, none of which are not dictated by the Soviet threat, U.S. defenses could provide and sustain the desired "Margin of Safety" and costs could be dramatically reduced. This would permit, in due course, a balanced U.S. budget without major further reduction in social programs.

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THE EFFECTS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON HIGHER EDUCATION

By George C. Roche III

One of the goals which most Americans have shared – one of the cornerstones of the American self-assumption – has been that each person should be judged as an individual on the basis of his own merits. Thus at first glance a program such as affirmative action is potentially attractive to many people, since it promises "action" in eliminating discrimination. Most Americans agree that discrimination is wrong when it treats people as members of a group rather than as individuals. However, the questions which need to be raised concerning affirmative action are: Who is discriminating? Who is suffering in that discrimination? And how, finally, does all this relate to higher education?

In an effort to answer these questions, we might profitably examine the prototype definition of affirmative action provided a few years back by the architect for much of the program, Mr. J. Stanley Pottinger, former head of the Office of Civil Rights (OCR):

> The concept of affirmatice action requires more than mere neutrality on race and sex. It requires the university to determine whether it has failed to recruit, employ, and promote women and minorities commensurate with their availability, even if this failure cannot be traced to specific acts of discrimination by university officials. Where women and minorities are not represented on a university's rolls, the university has an obligation to initiate affirmative efforts to recruit and hire them. The premise of this obligation is that systemic forms of exclusion, inattention, and discrimination cannot be remedied in any meaningful way, in any reasonable length of time, simply by ensuring a future benign neutrality with regard to race and sex. This would perpetuate indefinitely the grossest inequities of past discrimination. Thus there must be some form of positive action, along with a schedule for how such actions are to take place, and an honest appraisal of what the plan

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is likely to yield — an appraisal that the regulations call a "goal."

Publications of the OCR go on to describe that "goal" and the required method for its achievement: ". . . the guidelines explicitly require that goals and timetables be established to eliminate hiring, firing, promotion, recruiting, pay, and fringe benefit discrimination." The Office is quick to insist that "goals" are not "quotas." Spokesmen have repeatedly announced that while they favor "goals," they oppose "quotas" which are "rigid" and "arbitrary." OCR makes a valid point when it suggests that quotas as such are not required by policy. But it is disingenuous to leave the matter there. It may be that a given policy will result in a quota system without being called a quota system. This is precisely what has happened in affirmative action programming.

Certainly the college and university administrators faced with affirmative action have been badly confused in the process. "Goals" and "guidelines" have proven to be nothing more than confusing synonyms for numerical quotas. The college or university faced with proving its innocence by showing "good faith" has discovered that satisfying the bureaucratic task force is a supremely difficult undertaking. Those schools attempting to comply with affirmative action programming find themselves trapped in a mass of paperwork, a labyrinth of guidelines, and a conflicting collection of definitions of "good faith," "equality," "minorities," "goals," and "quotas." Endless amounts of ink have been expended on the distinction between a goal, combined with a timetable, and a quota. But the distinction remains exclusively semantic.

There is little practical difference between saying: (1) "You must aim at a quota of 20 percent Lithuanians on your staff within the next three years," and saying (2) "You must set as your numerical goal recruitment of 20 percent Lithuanians within the next three years." It seems clear that the federal bureaucracy has every intention of enforcing quotas, and no amount of semantic confusion should be allowed to obscure the fact.

At the heart of this matter lies a fundamental question concerning group rights vs. individual rights. The HEW directives which now attempt enforcement of group proportional rights are pushing toward a major change in this nation's traditional

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conception of equality and opportunity. Affirmative action, which evolved from an attempt to end discriminatory practices, has now been elevated to the level of an ideology in its own right. The means has become the end. The bureaucracy which presses affirmative action upon the academic community does so in the apparent assurance that discrimination is the means by which to achieve true equality. Individual merit is to be set aside in favor of a new collective goal for the social order.

The direct and inevitable result has been reverse discrimination. A quota, goal, guideline, or whatever — which enforces hiring preferences according to sex or race — can do so only by denying otherwise qualified candidates proper consideration for the same position.

In the past several years increasing numbers of announcements for job opportunities within the academic community have appeared in professional journals and other academic outlets, making specific reference to race, sex, or ethnic background of the prospective applicant, usually in such a way as to suggest that such applicants will receive preferential treatment. The pressures for such preferential hiring are now an accepted fact in the American academic community.

Investigations by the OCR itself have revealed that a number of America's colleges and universities are engaging in reverse discrimination favoring women and minority candidates for faculty and staff jobs over equally qualified or better qualified white males. Observed one OCR official, "I've been out on the campus trail in recent weeks and I am getting the impression that most of the institutions are engaging in some form of discrimination against white males." De facto discrimination is now commonplace:

> "Dear Sir: The Department of Economics at Chico State is now just entering the job market actively to recruit economists for the next academic year . . . Chico State College is also an affirmative action institution with respect to both American minority groups and women. Our doctoral requirements for faculty will be waived for candidates who qualify under the affirmative action criteria."
>
> "Dear Colleague: Claremont Men's College has a vacancy in its . . . Department as a result of retirement. We desire to appoint a black or Chicano, preferably female . . . ."
>
> "Dear . . .: We are looking for females . . ., and members

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> of minority groups. As you know, Northwestern along with a lot of other universities is under some pressure . . . to hire women, Chicanos, etc."
>
> "Your prompt response to my letter of May 12 with four candidates, all of whom seem qualified for our vacancy, is greatly appreciated. Since there is no indication that any of them belong to one of the minority groups listed, I will be unable to contact them. . . ."

Only a few years ago such practices would have been denounced as clearly discriminatory, yet today they have become accepted in academic circles. Affirmatice action has now entered into university officials' decisions in determining who may be hired, promoted, given a raise, or admitted to a given school.

Threats to Academic Standards

Educators who feel threatened in the self-determination and internal control of their departments and schools perhaps should also consider the implications which lie behind that threat. When a bureaucrat can threaten withholding virtually millions of dollars in funds from Columbia University — not because Columbia has been found guilty of specific acts of discrimination, but because Columbia, after a half-dozen attempts and the expenditures of tens of thousands of dollars in computer studies, has failed to come up with an affirmative action plan satisfactory to the bureaucracy — the results should be obvious to all: federal control of higher education now threatens to produce severe damage to those independent values which have meant so much for the preservation of our institutions of higher learning and the maintenance of an open society.

Meanwhile, what effect does affirmative action have upon the minorities we are trying to help? Here the story is saddest of all.

One of the casualties of affirmative action has been the black college of university. Competition for qualified black professors has become so intense that the black schools are losing their most qualified faculty members to those large, prosperous, predominantly white institutions that can afford to pay substantially higher salaries.

Meanwhile, qualified minority members are also penalized

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by affirmative action. What quotas and special privileges are saying all too clearly is that the minority member just doesn't have what it takes and therefore must be given what he is unqualified to earn. Even the minority member who earns his competence will surely be undermined as the result. The suspicion will be present in his mind and everyone else's that his success may be due special privilege, not to talent and hard work. No one resents this aspect of affirmative action more bitterly than the qualified minority member himself.

The unqualified minority member is also cheated in the education which affirmatice action promises. In the early 1960s, a great drive was under way to bring minority students to predominantly white schools. Between 1964 and 1970, the number of blacks on previously white campuses jumped 173 percent, from 114,000 to 310,000. The promise held out to a generation of young blacks was a lifetime of material success within "the system." It was a promise which higher education could not hope to deliver, especially since many of those minority students attracted to the campus were unprepared for the life and work thrust upon them.

Just as many of these students are ill prepared to participate in higher education, so are many of their professors ill prepared to offer a quality experience to their students. Affirmative action has greatly aggravated this tendency. The attempt to achieve a statistically adequate representation of women and ethnic groups on college faculties has tended to produce a rush to discover sufficient numbers of well-qualified professors with minority credentials. In actual practice, the numbers of such minority types demanded far exceed the qualified people available. Thus a strange new word has entered the affirmative action dialogue. Today we talk about the appointment of persons who are not qualified, but who are "qualifiable."

In point of fact the guidelines state: "Neither minority nor female employees should be required to possess higher qualifications than those of the lowest qualified incumbent."

Has merit come to mean only equality on the lowest level of performance? Not only does this do an injustice to the institution and the students, but also it excludes from consideration large numbers of an entire generation of young scholars, quite well qualified to hold a position, yet often rendered ineligible by virtue of their nonmembership in an HEW-approved

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minority group. Unfair discrimination and the lowering of standards go far beyond reverse discrimination. Today even well-qualified blacks are passed over for consideration — because they are not from the ghetto. The search is not merely for blacks, but for "authentic ghetto types."

Black professors and black students alike have been downgraded. The first-rank performers have suffered this downgrading because whatever accomplishment they attain is often assumed to be the result of special privilege. Meanwhile, unqualified professors and students from various ethnic groups have been cheated into assuming that they were taking their place in a true educational framework, when, in fact, all the standards which gave the framework any meaning have been undercit. As one Cornell professor bluntly put it: "I give them all A.s and B's and to hell with them." Surely this is not the "equality" which we desire for higher education.

The situation cries out for recruitment and education of young people, black or white, on the basis of their individual ability. Yet this is exactly what affirmative action and the patronizing zealotry lying behind it will not permit.

The Largest "Minority"

When we discuss the questions of discrimination and affirmative action programming, we should remember that the single largest category of all the "minorities" under discussion is women. Most of the problems which apply to other A.A. programs apply with special force to women.

We also should remember that valid complaints do exist. There can be no question that women do not always receive equal treatment. Employment opportunities are frequently not equal even in areas where little or no difference exists between men and women in their capacity to do the job. The academic community is one of those areas. There are evidences that women, for whatever reason, have usually been less valued members of the academic community than their male counterparts. Undoubtedly there have been in the past, and still are at present, instances in which women of equal or superior qualification did not have an opportunity to equal pay for the same work, or for a particular promotion which went instead to a man of perhaps inferior qualification. There are famous universities which have never chosen a woman as chairman of a

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department. On many campuses women teachers tend to be engaged to handle overload problems in undergraduate survey courses. Yes, there are reasons for valid complaint concerning unequal treatment.

Throughout society today, however, many positions formerly reserved for men are now attracting a growing number of women. Positions ranging from police officer to bank manager to truck driver are now more likely to be filled by women. Although a relatively low percentage of magerial positions are currently occupied by women, the figure continues to rise and each year more coeds are being interviewed for jobs with management potential. Even the unions are faced with growing pressure to provide women with a larger role, not ony for promotion in industrial plants but also for a larger role in union leadership.

Similarly, women are taking a greater interest in joining college faculties. But it should be remembered, even by the most insistent partisan of equal rights for women, that most college and university teaching situations involve certain factors, common to the lives of many if not most women, that have a bearing on salaries and promotion. As a group, women have been less likely to complete terminal degrees; thus reduces their value in academic positions. As a group, women are far more likely to be affected in their careers by marriage and children, in some cases ending their quest for further education or for a continuation of their teaching position. Thus the tenure and qualification of many women are frequently less than those of thier male counterparts. Equality of opportunity should certainly be available to those women who indeed have equal or superior credentials but it would be incorrect to assume that the most pressing concern in the lives of all the women in the country is a desire to be a college professor or take a Ph.D.

As in the case of minority quotas, serious confusions and potential injustices are involved in academic quotas for women. How does a school determine that women are "underutilized"? The current recommended bureaucratic method is to measure the percentage of degrees granted nationally to women in a particular discipline against the percentage of total teaching positions held by women in that same discipline on a particular campus. Never mind whether those women available nationally wish to teach at your school; never mind whether you have

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positions available to offer those women; above all, never mind whether or not those women candidates interviewed for a job are the best qualified for the particular job in the opinion of faculty and administration. Nom the only deciding factor is to be the quota.

It seems clear that in the case of women, as in the case of minorities, individual achievement is to be replaced with affirmative action quotas and group pressures. Unfortunately, there is little or no leadership advocating individual measurement for men and women.

Two kinds of injustices result from this forced distortion in the hiring of women. Just as a qualified racial minority member is undercut by compulsory hiring, so too does the qualified woman suffer when hiring and promotion are no longer granted on the basis of individual merit. In her eyes, and in the eyes of her colleagues, the dount is raised as to whether she deserved the position she was granted, or whether it was given simply to comply with HEW — as a cosmetic gesture.

The second problem is that of maintaining academic standards in the face of impatient pressures to utilize more women in the academy. When a relatively low percentage of the doctorates in America are awarded to women, and when feminists on the campus are advocating that women faculty members should be on a one-to-one basis with men, where are the qualified female faculty to be found to fill the positions?

Equality and the Merit Principle

There is serious confusion at the heart of the egalitarian ideal. The thrust of affirmative action in all its forms is toward the homogenized society in which all are absolutely equal, and yet the means of attainment is to be through special group identity. We are all to be made identical by treating various interest groups in nonidentical ways: giving some privilege and discriminating against others.

Even if the egalitarian society were possible, the effort to attain it by unequal treatment of individuals is not likely to succeed; such methods would surely become the means which destroyed the end. We in America are just beginning to face this powerful dilemma.

It has been the American insistence upon an equality measured in freedom, independence, and opportunity that has

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characterized our system. It is the accompanying inequality of individual talents, given full play by the legal guarantee of equal opportunity, which had led to progress in religion, intellectual affairs, the production of material wealth, and the pursuit of individual meaning in life. The social advances which we take for granted have their origin in allowing the individual the opportunity to give full play to his creative resources. It is precisely that aspect of American life which is now so heavily under attack. The assault upon the merit principle today is present not only in higher education, but throughout American society as a whole. The real danger of the social engineering now under way is that the drive toward mediocrity reflected in affirmative action programming has behind it not only the full weight of the United States government, but the unthinking support of most molders of public opinion.

Lowered standards in admissions and in faculty hiring, induced by HEW standards and such bizarre notions as the "qualifiable" candidate, will inevitably have an effect throughout all segments of higher education. It should be obvious that the hiring of a faculty member, on any other basis than the particular merit of that individual faculty member, must in the long run be prejudicial to the quality of the institutional faculty so affected. The responsibility of every faculty and administration in this country is to find the most qualified person available for a particular post, regardless of race, sex, religion, or national origin. Any other basis for selection is not only discriminatory, but must necessarily be a downward step in the quality of the institution.

The same considerations apply to admissions policies in academic institutions. Those institutions which have experimented with lowering their admissions standards to achieve racial balance have then found that the students admitted under the lower standards can only be retained in school if the institution is willing to lower its classroom standards as well. As in the case of discriminatory hiring, discriminatory admissions practices work directly contrary to the ideal of quality education.

Perhaps one of the most saddening aspects of the entire affair is the special damage which affirmative action inflicts upon the very people for whose benefit the program presumably operates. The hiring of professors or the admission of students on any

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basis other than ability works a particular hardship on the "favored" groups. The qualified, achieving students and teachers can never be sure of where they stand. How can one build an academic standing when neither he nor his colleagues will ever know for sure whether he is there because of ability or because he was part of some racial or sexual quota? The unqualified student or professor fares even worse. Such a person can be retained only by lowering standards and thus cheating those involved of the education they have been promised.

Despite our problems, one of the central facts of American history has been the achievement of a high degree of individudal equality for most citizens. Perhaps the nation somehow sensed that human beings achieve their fulfillment in what they become. Certainly we are most fully ourselves as we aspire to further development, and enjoy the freedom to pursue it. It is in connection with our aspiration that we seek equality for each person. Surely race or sex is an inadequate basis for such equality. We do not aspire to be black, white, or yellow, male or female. These categories are facts of existence. The achievement which we seek in life must lie elsewhere, and it is elsewhere that the definition of true equality must also be located.

What we all want, and what some members of society presently lack, is acceptance as individuals. It is that acceptance which constitutes genuine equality. Each of us wants to be a person in his own right. Such acceptance can hardly be produced by governmental compulsion. Compulsion smothers any creative response to a problem.

Quotas undercut acceptance for the individual. If a person lacks qualification for a position, it is a disservice to that person and to society as a whole to enforce a quota and compel legal acceptance. Quotas limit rather than enhance opportunity; they degrade rather than dignify. And as one pastor of a Harlem church put it, speaking for all quota-entrapped groups, "If we are going to be judged without discrimination then we will also be judged without pity." The only equality with real meaning is that based upon an absence of prejudgment. The quota is itself a prejudgment, institutionalized with the force of law, standing as a permanent obstacle to true equality.

Perhaps the route toward alleviation of our present discontents lies through a restatement and redefinition of the equality we seek. A vast majority of us want genuine equality of oppor-

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tunity for all citizens. Discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, religion, or any other group-oriented basis is simply unacceptable. But the course we now pursue is calculated to enforce a peculiarly American version of apartheid, an apartheid which not only sets race apart, but adds sex as another category of public regulation.

By every standard of simple equity, by the standards of the American dream at its best, in the interest of all individuals, especially in the interest of the "disadvantaged," and finally in the interest of society as a whole, we must understand that the agalitarian dream now pursued by affirmative action programming on the campuses of America's colleges and universities is undercutting the very structure of the open society. The commendable quest for equality of opportunity must not be confused with the shoddy, politicized quotas of affirmative action.

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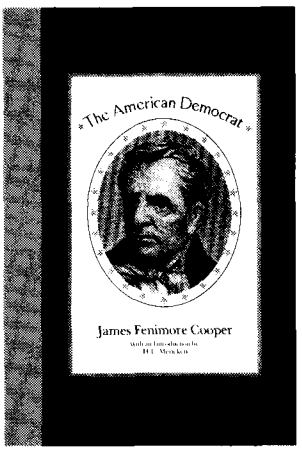

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TRADE UNIONS AND THE BRITISH POLITICAL SCENE

By 'Britannicus'

The recent decision of the Thatcher government in the United Kingdom to challenge the power of the British trade unions recalls the unsuccessful attempt of the earlier Heath government to deprive the unions of certain of their supra-legal powers, and the resultant fall of the Heath government. It also underlines the fact that the exorbitant power of the trade unions in Britain is one of the major factors in the economic and political decay of that country.

Historical Background

Historically Britain was a country which had few serious labor problems prior to this century. While the industrial revolution, which was pioneered in England, undoubtedly brought with it widespread social upheaval and considerable human suffering and outright 'explotiation,' when compared with the traditional social and labor relations in agrarian England, the national sense of responsibility and social cohesion worked to mollify the impact of many of the worst instances, and laws were passed to prevent child labor and similar practices.

Nevertheless, these measures did not effectively compensate for the new pattern of labor problems which arose with industrialization, and unlike Japan and Germany, where paternalism softened the impact of industrialization on labor relations, the friendly landlord-labor relations of the agrarian tradition were not effectively carried over into the new industrial societies, and the seeds for labor conflict were laid. From medieval times British Common Law had prohibited strikes and other restraints on trade, recognizing that the common good was rooted in productivity, and the morality of the trade guilds could be relied upon to ensure that all workers obtained a reasonable living as a return for their efforts. The French Revolution (which was not, interestingly enough, the result of industrialization) led to the temporary passage in Britain of Combination Acts, designed to prevent organized industrial sabotage, but these were repealed in 1824, some years after the suppression of the French revolutionary forces. In 1850 the celebrated 'Tol-

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puddle Martyrs' were sentenced to deportation for 'union' activities, but only on the grounds that they had sworn secret oaths, and between the years 1850 and 1875 no action was taken to prevent the formation of early union organizations, particularly among skilled workers. These to some extent still reflected the spirit of the medieval guilds in so far as they were largely intended to serve as provident societies to take care of sick or unemployed workers.

However, as a result of the move towards universal suffrage, which was introduced in the 1867 and 1886 Franchise Acts, a Conservative government in 1875 gave certain supra-legal status to trade unions, which in effect exempted them from the normal laws applicable to contract and tort – in a move to win the new, working class vote. As it happened, many of the newly enfranchised workers chose to support the rival Liberal Party, and when in 1901 the House of Lords (acting as the supreme Court of Appeal) reinterpreted this Act to deny the unions freedom from lawsuits when in breach of contract, the Liberals reacted by passing the Trades Dispute Act of 1906, which restored these remarkable privileges and also permitted "peaceful picketing" of businesses by strikers.

Interestingly, this bid for working class votes by the Liberal Party also went unrewarded, when the Labour Representation Committee (which had been founded in 1875) transformed itself into a new political "Labour Party," with some 30 Members of Parliament, and thereafter regularly won the support of the unions. The latter mostly imposed political levies upon their members, requiring all members to make an additional contribution, over and above their regular union fees, for the financial support of Labour Party candidates and for general political activities, unless they specifically "contracted out" or, in other words, expressly refused to make such a payment.

Clearly, many workers who found it necessary or desirable to join a union did not necessarily share the political views of the new Labour Party, but it required a strong persistency to "opt out" of the political levy – especially in the face of pressure by union organizers and union-minded co-workers. In consequence in 1913 the House of Lords (which in those days was a genuine House of Lords and was not dependent upon vote-catching tactics) ruled the semi-compulsory trade union political levy as illegal, requiring instead those who wished to pay such a levy to volunteer to do so, or "contract in." Once again,

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however, the Liberal Party in power passed a new Act to make " contracting out" legal, thereby providing financial support to the growing Labour Party which was shortly to supercede the Liberals.

Effect of the World Wars

The 1914-1918 war changed the face of Europe, decimating the older ruling families, and – as a result of the labor shortage caused by so many deaths – reinforcing the power of the unions. In particular, leftist political idealogues did not figure prominently amongst those who died at the front, bravely but senselessly advancing into artillery and machine gun fire, not to mention poison gas, in a war that could only weaken Europe. Instead, like Lenin, the leftists throughout Europe avoided personal involvement in the war, and worked throughout the period of hostilities to win power in the devastated and demoralized peace that was to follow. With the flower of European youth and education wasted, their task was made much easier.

While Communism seized power in Russia – and temporarily in Hungary and even Bavaria – the first Labour Party was elected to power in Britain in 1924. A "General Strike" called by the Trades Unions in 1926, in an attempt to dominate the country totally, failed largely because so many of the workers still thought of themselves as law-abiding Britons first, and as political workers only second – and also, partly, because of the resolution of a young cabinet member by the name of Winston Churchill. Nevertheless, once the strike was defeated, after nine days, no resolute action was taken against the unions – despite their now obvious political ambitions. They were allowed to retain their immunity against lawsuits by employers, even when broken contracts might place the employers in backruptcy, and even into lawsuits for trade contracts broken because of union-organized strikes, and all that was done was to reestablish "contracting in," once again, where political levies were concerned.

And so matters continued until World War II repeated the scenario of World War I, extending the powers of the Communists throughout Eastern Europe, and certain other parts of the world, and strengthening the left in most other countries. Again, while ordinary Britons fought and died, the left sought positions of influence and power, in the schoolrooms, in the "Army Education Corps" and in the universities. A propa-

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ganda and political machine was built by the left in Britain during World War II, and in the first election following World War II a Labour government was returned to power. True to its own interests – the interest of the unions – "contracting out" was promptly restored, since the Labour Party depended heavily upon Union funding, and "contracting out" brought in money from the wages of non-leftist union members as well as from politically-activist leftist union members.

By this time the unions had gained substantial power, and a temporary return of the Conservatives to office in 1957 proved to be a fiasco. No attempt was made to even restore "contracting in," and the conservative government soon fell, following a scandal involving a cabinet minister of immigrant descent with a prostitute of immigrant parentage – a relationship which shocked a sufficient number of staid English voters, not willing to accept such behavior among their elected leaders, into either refraining from voting Conservative or even into supporting the rival Labour Party. Ironically, the incoming Labour Party, featuring Harold Wilson and Barbara Castle, themselves realized that the unions were now attempting to openly appropriate the reins of government, and sought to preserve the power of the Labour Party politicians vis-a-vis the union leaders by means of a new program of legislation euphemistically labelled "In Place of Strife" (1969). However, the unions were now too strong, and although the program was promptly withdrawn, a conservative government was again elected in 1970, under the leadership of Ted Heath.

The Heath Government

Although not regarded as a strong man, Heath and his cabinet realized, as Wilson had done, that the supra-legal powers of the unions had to be curbed. The resultant Industrial Relations Act of 1971 effectively sought to control these powers and established a special High Court to deal with labor violations expeditiously. Unfortunately, for opponents of the unions, the same Act, by way of a 'carrot,' gave unions the right to enforce a closed shop (e.g. to deny anyone employment in a unionized industry or workplace unless they became union members) provided only that the union registered itself as a union with the government.

Reacting against this legal act of a duly elected government,

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one of the most powerful and radical unions, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (led by Hugh Scanlon) publicly declared that it recognized neither the Act nor the High Court. A number of illegal strikes were accompanied by violence, and the AUEW was subjected to a fine by the Courts. It refused to pay the fine, and a major confrontation was only avoided when someone *anonymously* paid the fine for the union! Around the same time, a group of union officials advocating an illegal dock strike refused to respond to a summons by the new Court. The "Pentonville Five," as they were called, were jailed for contempt of court, and a wave of strikes resulted. Flying pickets (professional pickets, not genuine workers) closed docks and power stations in a massive move organized by Scanlon like a military operation, with chartered buses taking pickets from one town to another, where smaller buses transported them to the picket points. The strike – supported by the Trade Union Congress, which called for a General Strike – was facilitated by the payment of government welfare benefits to the wives and children of strikers, as well as prompt "tax refunds" to strikers themselves. In this case the confrontation was again ended only by subterfuge – with the House of Lords ruling that the unions were responsible, not the jailed shop stewards, so that the latter could be freed from jail while the victorious union had only to pay a purely nominal fine.

Shaken by events, Prime Minister Heath decided to call a General Election, but failed to prepare adequately for it, and was defeated by a narrow margin. The incoming Labour Party, now knowing full well that they were the representatives of the union leaders, took full advantage of power placed in their hands. First the 1974 Trades Unions and Labour Relations Act repealed the Industrial Disputes Act, restoring and extending the supra-legal privileges of the unions, even giving them immunity from lawsuits when inducing others to break contracts. The next year, the 1978 Employment Protection Act required employers to give time off to employees (with pay) to attend union activities, and to give full financial information to unions. In addition they had to give 60-90 days notice to unions before laying off workers for redundancy, and unions were even empowered to force non-union employees to pay union wages by resort to a new Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service and a Central Arbitration Committee, both set up under the Act.

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These Acts were further reinforced by the 1976 Trade Union Labour Relations Amendment Act under which individuals who lost their jobs after being expelled by their unions (because of 'closed shop' regulations) could only appeal to a union-controlled tribunal! Indeed, the first Transport and General Workers Union (Marxist-controlled, and led by Jack Jones) and the similarly Marxist-controlled Industrial Engineering Union got any concession they required from the government. A classic example was the Dock Labour Bill, requiring anyone who worked within 5 miles of a navigable river or port, employed in unloading *or transporting* goods, to be a "registered docker" – that is to say, to pay dues to the T&GW Union, and to lose his job if he forfeited union membership for any reason.

This series of measures then led to union actions of such absurdity that the country began to react. The 1977 Greenwick strike, backed by Arthur Scargill and the Southern Region of the T.U.C., involved eighteen thousand pickets (*not* employees of the firm) who were bussed in to battle the police. Even the employees of the Government Post Office refused to deliver mail to this mail-order firm (contrary to the 1969 Post Office Act), under union orders. Many of the pickets belonged to the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, the Maoist Communist Party of Great Britain, or the Marxist Leninist Communist Party of Britain.

Marxist Infiltration

The reality is that the Unions had for years been subject to infiltration by Marxists, who see them as a means towards the conquest of Britain – with the Labour Party dependent on the Unions for financial support, and a major portion of Union funds being derived (a) from the political levy, imposed on virtually all workers in "closed shop" industries, and (b) from control over pension funds. These funds give the Union leaders control not only over the Labour Party, but also over a vast organizational network. While there are many unions in Britain – and industrial management is further disadvantaged by having to deal with a multiplicity of unions – in reality most cooperate together under the T.U.C., and three of the largest unions, the National Union of Miners (Gormley and Scanlon), the Steel-workers Union (Bill Sirs) and the National Union of Railway-

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men consult and work closely together as the renowned Triple Alliance.

The Unions are individually controlled by their National Executives (with General Secretaries usually elected directly by the members, but obliged to act on the directives of the Executive Councils). The members of these National Executive Councils have been described by Eric Chapple, of the Electricians Union (a former communist who almost alone speaks out against the communist conspiracy in the unions) as being 30% card-carrying Marxists (Trotskyites, Maoists or Marxist-Leninists); 30% Tribunite leftists (far-left but not admitting to Marxism); and 40% less extreme or unidentified.

Actually 30%-40% of union members are believed to be anti-socialist, but are obliged to belong to unions and to support the unions financially – as well as to go on strike when ordered to do so – in order to retain their jobs and feed their families. Having control over the Union purse-strings, the Marxists are able to maintain effective organizations at the grass roots level, with local committees being largely dominated by leftist-activists who effectively control local meetings. Since a postal ballot could possibly have changed this situation, the Thatcher government agreed to supply public funds to unions to offset the cost of postal balloting, but the T.U.C. refused to allow member unions to accept public funds for this purpose, and ballotting still takes place at organization-managed local meetings, usually little attended by members who might be out of favor with those who manipulate and manage union affairs. Thus the local Committees generally elect far-leftists to the Regional Committees, who in turn elect the members of the National Councils. The Communist-controlled T.G.W.U. and A.E.U., the two largest unions in Britain, run regular training and indoctrination course for their more activist members, usually in luxurious hotels, or even in historic manor houses converted for this use.

Although the Labour Party is officially led by persons such as Michael Foot and Dennis Healey, who though far to the left at least profess to respect the parliamentary system, others such as Tony Benn have been portrayed as quasi-Trotskyists, who remain in the wings and could – with Union backing – easily seize power after a trusting electorate had once again reelected what they believed might be a moderate Labour Party government. To the Unions the Labour Party is but a useful legal

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front, giving legitimacy to Union power – the real power of the unions is their ability to paralyze the economy.

This Union power is evidenced by the flying pickets organized and directed from control headquarters (which have been likened to WWII military command posts). Union strike operations have been likened to the equally efficient leftist leadership which organized immigrant rioters to burn and loot many major British cities recently – the riots being effectively directed from central command posts, ruffian squads being transported by car to key positions whenever carefully placed observers equipped with walky-talkies reported police movements. Indeed, the numberless petrol bombs used against the unnerved and virtually defenseless police were apparently supplied from central manufacturing locations, preplanned for each riot.

Unionization of the Government Bureaucracy

Most dangerous of all, perhaps, has been the *organization of the government workers* – with more and more government unions affiliating to the T.U.C. each year. The ability of the T.U.C. to close down the government computers that collect taxes and make social security payments has been demonstrated effectively. Unions have closed British airfields, through the air controllers unions, just as the dockers have closed the ports and the miners have closed power stations. The Guild of Civil Services Union (Gary Gilmore) claims 530,000 members. Meanwhile the National Union of Teachers claims 80 to 90% membership density, and already plays its part in determining what shall be taught – and, soon, who shall teach – in British schools.

The Thatcher Government

The 1979 victory of the Conservatives led by Margaret Thatcher resulted in a weak government infiltrated by many "Trojan Horses" such as William Whitelaw, Francis Pym, Lord Carrington, Lord Soames, Ian Gilmore, and last but no means least, Jim Prior. As Minister for Employment Prior played a weak hand against – or possibly "with" – the unions. The Employment Act of 1980 was virtually toothless, though it magnanimously agreed to compensate employees who lost their jobs for not being members of unions with *government* funds – giving them no protection against union-motivated dismissals.

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On the economic front, the Thatcher government chose to fight inflation by high interest rates, rather than to free industry from socialist imposed legislation that made successful enterprise virtually impossible. With 63% of the Gross National Product in the subsidized public sector, and only 37% in the heavily taxed and restricted private sector, unemployment rose to 12% – all in the private sector, since the public sector today employs more people (to do less) than when Margaret Thatcher took over. Attempts to cut public sector spending have been half-hearted, and have been largely threatened by the inflated unionized bureaucracy, which devotes whatever working time is necessary to devise methods of preventing government spending cuts which might result in loss of employment by government workers. Even recent non-productive 'social engineering' agencies, such as the so-called 'Race Relations Industry,' continue to be generously funded from the public purse to support leftist activists among the swelling immigrant population. Attempts to close unproductive coal mines in the "nationalized" coal mining industry, thereby cutting government subsidies in inefficient areas, resulted in a confrontation with the National Union of Miners, whereupon the government backed off and actually doubled its subsidy to the coal industry.

However, following this debacle, a reshuffle of the Thatcher cabinet improved the government's cohesiveness. Margaret Thatcher is now in full control of both the cabinet and the party. Jim Prior, her chief rival, and the architect of doom as Minister of Employment, has been replaced by Norman Tebbit, a stranger who has had practical experience as leader of the airline pilot's union. Lord Soames (Leader of the House of Lords) Norman St. John Stevas (Leader of the House of Commons) have both gone, as has Selwyn Lloyd, Chairman of the party – replaced by Cecil Parkinson. New legislation to curb union power has been announced, but although this sounds inadequate, it remains to be seen whether – weakened as the economy is – the unions will attempt to challenge it.

What the Thatcher government needs to do before challenging the unions is to prepare public opinion more fully in advance. Most necessary of all is full public disclosure of the management or mal-management of union finances. Certainly, occasional reports on these have appeared in certain newspapers, but the debates are not always presented as fully as they ought to be presented. Whether the Thatcher government is

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using British Intelligence to monitor the Marxist-manipulated funds of the Unions is a matter of doubt. The Industrial Relations Research Unit at the University of Warwick, funded by public money through the Social Services Research Council, produces bland information of little use in this struggle. What is needed urgently is in-depth research of union funds, and with it, union election manipulation. Such information should be publicized substantially, not simply supplied to the media or sold in book form to those who already understand the union menace. A legitimate government seeking to defend British freedom can only be successful if the mass of British workers become truly aware of the deceit that is being imposed upon them, prior to inevitable future conflicts between the legitimate government and the pervasive power of the union leaders. Even then the government will only triumph if it is totally resolute, using force to contain and repress force, confident that it has the support of the mass of the workers themselves. They had this support in 1979. They must rebuild it before the conflict comes, while simultaneously using their experience of the past few years to prepare to counter the flying pickets and saboteurs who will surely once again attempt to force the will of the union councils upon the British people.

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THE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF ANGOLA

By Clifford A. Kiracofe Jr.

The struggle for political supremacy in Angola, following the Portuguese decision to grant the former overseas province total independence, began in earnest following the breakdown of the "Alvor Accords" negotiated between all parties in early 1975. These Accords called for a joint sharing of political power between the three contending nationalist forces – MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), FNLA (Angolan National Liberation Front), and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) – until the matter could be resolved through the elections process. Angola was to be granted independence in November 1975 by Portugal.

The MPLA, led by a pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninist core, took a decision to come to power through violent means rather than to leave matters to chance in the ballot box. With massive Soviet Bloc support, including the dramatic Cuban expeditionary force, the MPLA was enabled to seize power in Luanda (the capital) and to declare unilaterally their accession to political rule over all of Angola.

The FNLA and UNITA, on the other hand, contested this "illegitimate" seizure of power and have for the last five years waged a civil war in order to advance their political aspirations. Roughly speaking, the southern third of Angola has been under some form of UNITA influence, and UNITA has been able to successfully interrupt rail communications on the strategic Benguela line throughout the course of the last five years. FNLA, a smaller nationalist force, has been able to maintain a level of activity in the northeast sufficient to deny the Luanda based MPLA regime control in that section of the country.

The level of Soviet Bloc commitment to the MPLA was not initially well understood in the West. Nor, it may be added, was the dramatic Cuban expeditionary force anticipated. Today, however, in light of later Soviet Bloc activity in South Yemen, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan, for example, the pattern of Soviet Bloc action has become clearer.

That Angola holds a key strategic position bearing not only on the southern portion of the African continent, but also with direct implications for the security of the Southern Atlantic

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and the associated sea lines of communication, has been recognized for centuries. Indeed, it was the competition for the lucrative Indian trade that brought the area into prominence during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Today, the PRA has provided bases and support for the Katangan guerillas for the Shaba I and II insursions, substantial assistance to Joshua Nkomo's ZIPRA guerillas operating in Zimbabwe, and support for Sam Nujoma's SWAPO operating against Southwest Africa (Nambia). Eventually it could become a key factor in Soviet Bloc designs for the entire South Atlantic, including Brazil and Southern America.

As an application of Soviet African strategy, the Angolan case provides an opportunity to better understand the extension of Soviet influence in Africa and the Third World generally. The Western attitude towards developments in Angola during the pre-independence phase of the civil war in 1975 was ambiguous. West European opinion, the Democratic-controlled Congress in the U.S., as well as influential U.S. media, maintained a neutral or, in some cases, a positive attitude towards the MPLA. Careful analysis of MPLA ideology and outside support was lacking despite warnings from moderate and conservative Western circles. The probability that Angola, under the MPLA, would constitute a domain for Soviet Bloc influence was generally downplayed even in the face of the unprecedented Cuban intervention on behalf of the MPLA.

Assertions were made to the effect that the MPLA were simply "African nationalists," not Marxist-Leninists, and that the threat of Soviet Bloc expansion should therefore be discounted. Another assertion was made to the effect that the Cuban intervention was strictly a unilateral decision by Havana, unconnected to broader Soviet strategic designs in spite of the fact that without Soviet logistical support the transit of Cuban troops to Angola would have been impossible. Linked to this assertion was the notion that the Cuban expeditionary force would return home relatively quickly. To the contrary, however, the Cuban expeditionary force remains in Angola six years later and during this time it has steadily increased in size.

New rationalizations have been circulated in the West for the Cuban presence by those friendly to Moscow's cause. The main justification offered for the presence of nearly 20,000 Cuban troops today is their role to "protect" Angola from South Africa. Two points can place this argument in perspective. First,

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South Africa sent a column to within 40 km. of Luanda in 1975 but, assurances notwithstanding, the West provided no diplomatic support for the move to prevent Angola from falling into the Soviet sphere. With this experience in mind, it would be unlikely that South African decisionmakers would plan another such operation.

Second, as the South African column easily cut through the Cuban forces present in 1975, who distinguished themselves by attempting to avoid contact, their effectiveness as a "protector" of the MPLA is subject to question. Since the South African column consisted of under 2,000 young troops and offensive airpower was not employed, the Cuban factor in "defending" the MPLA was negligible.

The significance of the Angolan takeover by the Soviet-backed MPLA since 1975 has been better appreciated in light of the entry of Mozambique, Ethiopia, South Yemen, and Afghanistan into the Soviet orbit. Concern in the West for secure supplies of and access to the oil resources of the Middle East and the mineral resources of Africa increased considerably during 1979 and 1980, as a result of the continued decline in political stability throughout Western Europe, Africa and Asia, regional wars, and the growing Soviet naval and military challenge.

Historical Background

Angola was discovered by the Portuguese explorer Diego Cam in 1484 and named Angola, after the Ngola people who were encountered there. The town of Luanda was established by Portuguese settlers as early as 1575, and international recognition of Portuguese control of the area was confirmed at the Berlin Conference of 1884. The colony was made an integral part of Portugal in 1951, when its legal status was changed from that of a colony to an "Overseas Province."(1)

Active rebellion against Portuguese rule was formally initiated in 1961, and three major political organizations vied for control.(2) Portugal was at this time also waging wars in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau against national liberation movements. The domestic strain in Portugal of the wars, owing in particular to their extremely large drain on the Treasury, influenced a rebellion in the conscript Portuguese Army, backed primarily by young university educated conscript officers of leftist persuasion, against the Caetano government, which

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resulted in a *coup d'etat* on April 25, 1974. This event had immediate political implications for the "Overseas Provinces" (colonies), and the national liberation movements increased their pressures.(3) While General Spinola, a leading member of the *coup,* had supposedly envisaged the formation of a Portuguese Commonwealth somewhat along the lines of the British Commonwealth, he was unable to implement this design as the political situation in Portugal shifted dramatically to the Left and he himself was forced to flee.(4)

The successes of the extreme Left members of the Armed Forces Movement in control of Portugal was accompanied by an accelerated shift to the Left in the "Overseas Provinces" which were to gain independence on a set schedule: Angola on November 11, 1975. The Soviet Union sent a member of their most highly trained and sophisticated new generation of diplomats to head a vastly expanded embassy in Lisbon, and this Embassy reportedly also became the center for liaison with the National Liberation Movements in the colonies.(5)

Further Moscow-backed interference came from the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, which in December 1974 declared the year 1975 to be one of "practical aid to the peoples of the former Portuguese colonies,"(6) and announced that it would send a delegation to Angola to discuss with MPLA leaders "questions about specific material aid, the training of cadres for Angola in African, socialist, and other countries."(7)

In January of 1975, the Portuguese High Commissioner in Angola, Admiral Rosa Coutinho, flew from Luanda to Lisbon at the head of a team of advisers and experts to take part in Portuguese government talks with the MPLA, FNLA, and the UNITA.(8) From their talks emerged the formula that Angola would be administered by a coalition of these three groups until achieving independence in November. Following this meeting, however, a struggle for dominance ensued between the three groups, the Soviet Union supporting the MPLA. While attempts were made to uphold the January agreement, called the "Alvor Accord," the rapidly deteriorating internal situation, prevented the continued cooperation of the three movements in a transitional coalition government.

On June 9, 1975, the MPLA forces drove the FNLA and UNITA out of Luanda, the colonial capital, and took over effective control of the city. While the MPLA was a minority movement both in terms of the size of its military forces and

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also of the ethnic segment which it represented, the control of the capital city lent the MPLA a certain *de facto* legitimacy in international law. With massive Cuban and Soviet support, as well as support from a number of Communist states, the MPLA was able to maintain control of perhaps 30% of the national territory by the date of independence on November 11, 1975.(9) On this date, the MPLA unilaterally declared itself to be the legitimate government of the state, which it called the People's Republic of Angola (PRA)," and was accorded immediate recognition by the Soviet Union, Cuba, and many other Communist Bloc states. At its meeting at Addis Ababa in January of 1976, the Organization of African Unity (OAU), however, split 22-22 on the question of recognizing the MPLA regime as the legitimate government of Angola. The civil war inside Angola has continued since then, and it has only been through massive Soviet-Cuban assistance that the MPLA has been able to establish a one-party state and to maintain itself in power.

Background of the MPLA

The MPLA (*Movimento Popular de Liberacao de Angola*) was established in 1956 as a result of the merger of the Communist Party of Angola (PCA) with various urban nationalist-revolutionary forces.(10) Its first leader Mario de Andrade, left for Morocco when Dr. Agostinho Neto was elected Chairman in December 1962.

Agnostinho Neto was born in 1922 and was the son of a Methodist minister. He was admitted to medical school in Portugal in 1947, where he was arrested twice for political agitation before he completed his studies in 1958.(11) Neto became a member of both the Portuguese Communist Party (underground) and the French Communist Party. On returning to Angola he established a medical practice in Luanda but was again arrested for political agitation in 1960 and deported to the Cape Verde Islands.(12) Escaping to Leopoldville in 1962, he was there elected the Chairman of the MPLA.(13)

On February 4, 1961, the MPLA stormed the prison in Luanda, and this event formally signaled the initiation of its struggle for the "liberation" of Angola.(14) Riots organized after the prison attack were put down, but on March 15 an organized attack from the Congo (Zaire) resulted in the worst massacre of both whites and blacks "in the recorded history of

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Africa," exceeding in extent the Soviet-backed Mau Mau atrocities in Kenya.(15)

The main basis of MPLA support within Angola came from urban *assimilados* (blacks "assimilated" into Portuguese society), *mesticos* (mixed bloods), and a few Communist whites.(16) Most of the black supporters were from the cities of Luanda, Malange, and Dondo, located in the traditional area of the Mbundu (Kimbundu-speaking) people. External support for the MPLA during the guerilla war came principally from the Soviet Union, East Europe, Cuba,the Mondlane Foundation (Netherlands), the Angola Committee (Netherlands), and Congo-Brazzaville. The MPLA headquarters was located in Brazzaville until the Portuguese *coup* in April 1974.

MPLA Relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union Prior to 1974

As noted above, the MPLA was established in 1956 on the initiative of the Angolan Communist Party (PAC).(17) The PCA, founded in 1955, had links with the Portuguese Communist Party whose leader, Alvaro Cunhal, is a well-known, old-line Stalinist whose submission to Moscow discipline has been complete. In 1964, Alvaro Cunhal arranged for Agostinho Neto to accompany him to the Soviet Union.(18) Since then Neto has acknowledged on many occasions that the Soviet Union supported the Angolan liberation struggle from its very inception.

During the period 1960-1963, the MPLA was restrained in its attempts to penetrate the Angolan frontier by the then non-Marxist governments in Brazzaville and Kinshasa.(19) The MPLA consequently sought international support from the Soviet Union, East European states, and the social democratic government in Scandinavia(20) to persuade the FNLA to agree to a "united front" approach which would facilitate MPLA penetration of Angola.

When the MPLA established its headquarters in Brazzaville(21) in 1963, there were three factions in the party: one centering on Agostinho Neto, another on Viriato da Cruz, and the third on Mario de Andrade.(22) Apparently, Cruz enjoyed a measure of Chinese support while the Soviet Union supported Neto.(23) From the Brazzaville base, the MPLA began operations in the enclave of Cabinda as a stepping stone to Angola proper. In November 1963, the MPLA Kinshasa office was closed by Congolese Prime Minister Adoula; in July

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1964 the OAU recognized the FNLA, not the MPLA, as the "sole legitimate" Angolan liberation movement.(24) The MPLA was not greatly affected by these setbacks, though, and responded by intensifying the guerilla war in Cabinda.(25)

In 1965, Neto received Tanzanian and Zambian assistance in the opening of supply lines to eastern Angola, the MPLA's "eastern front." This signaled a decisive turning point, and operations were launched in Moxico (March 1966), in Luanda (May 1968), in Bie (June 1969), and in Malaje (1969). During this period the MPLA apparently broadened its support from a Kimbundu based organization to include elements of other ethnic groups in Angola.(26) As for Cuban support, according to the well-known Colombian Communist author, Gabriel Garcia Marquez, in his Cuban authorized history of the Angolan civil war,

> Contacts between the Cuban revolution and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) had been very intense since they first began in August of 1965, when Che Guevara fought alongside the guerrillas in the Congo. The following year Agostinho Neto himself went to Cuba, accompanied by Endo, the military commander of the MPLA...(27)

Because Neto had traveled with PCP leader Alvaro Cunhal under the auspices of the Portuguese Communist Party to Moscow in 1964, the Cuban connection that developed in 1965-66 is particularly interesting. In the light of the increase of Soviet material support to the MPLA beginning in 1964, and the clear statement by an official Cuban historian, it can be reasonably inferred that MPLA support was a joint Soviet-Cuban affair throughout this early period, i.e., 1964-66.(28)

After moving its headquarters to Lusaka in 1968, the MPLA attempted to drive into eastern Angola in earnest; but was essentially pushed back to the Zambian border in 1971. At this point, the MPLA began to systematically assassinate black tribal leaders sympathetic to UNITA, including those located in Zambia. In 1972 the MPLA expanded its guerilla operations into southern Angola – into Huila and Cuando Cubango provinces – at which point South African concern emerged owing to a variety of political, economic, and strategic considerations.(29) By early 1974, the MPLA was conducting operations in southeastern Angola in the Cuando River area.(30)

Through 1970, it has been estimated that the Soviets pro-

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vided the MPLA with about 35-40% of its weapons. After this, Soviet material support increased substantially, particularly after the overthrow of the Portuguese government in 1974.

The MPLA 1974-1975

The Portuguese *coup* of April 25, 1974, permitted an acceleration of revolutionary activity in the "Overseas Provinces."(31) In Angola this increased activity by the MPLA coincided with another leadership crisis, this time with Daniel Chipenda, the MPLA military commander in Zambia, accusing Neto(32) of *mestico* racialism, complaining that seven out of the ten leaders were *mestico*. Sympethetic to Peking, he also criticized Neto's pro-Soviet position, as well as his "personality" cult.(33) The factions at this time comprised: the Neto group, the *"Revolta Activa"* (Pinto Andrade), and the *"Revolta do Leste"* (Chipenda).(34)

During this period, the Chinese sent several hundred tons of arms to the FNLA, as well as arms to the Chipenda faction, which was also receiving backing from Kaunda.(35) The Soviet Union also began to restrict aid to Neto in 1973, and to support Chipenda with material.(36) However, Soviet policy was again reversed after the Portuguese Communist Party, which had all along supported Neto, intervened in Neto's behalf.(37) The radical officers of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement gave their full support to Neto, and Portuguese Communists who had infiltrated the Angolan bureaucracy also extended their support to Neto.

The Soviet Union consequently continued its support of the MPLA, regardless of faction, and when the situation in Portugal after the April *coup* led to the announcement that Lisbon would grant independence to the Overseas Provinces, the Soviet Union stepped up aid to the MPLA yet again. In August 1974, the Soviets began delivering the first part of a $6 million shipment to African liberation movements via Dar es Salaam.(38) The great bulk of this material apparently made its way to the MPLA, since the Rhodesian and South African "national liberation movements" appeared to have received very little, if any, of the shipment. By October and November the MPLA was receiving Soviet supplies through Cabinda and Congo-Brazzaville. During December, some 250 MPLA troops were sent to the Soviet Union for training and other cadres were reported

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to be receiving training from East Germany, Algeria, and North Vietnam.(39)

Throughout the ensuing civil war, Soviet-Cuban assistance has been the decisive factor in the continued predominance of the MPLA. Following the establishment of the MPLA-declared People's Republic of Angola (PRA) on November 11, 1975, Soviet, Cuban, and East European support has allowed the regime to retain power despite large-scale guerilla resistence by FNLA and UNITA.(40)

Early Soviet Influence at the State-to-State Level

Without Soviet support, the MPLA would not have been able to unilaterally declare the formation of the People's Republic of Angola on November 11, 1975, and would not have been able to gain power or retain it to this day, in spite of the fact that the combined FNLA-UNITA opposition possessed a larger military force and represented a considerably broader ethno-linguistic population base than did the MPLA.

Once in power, even if on an uncertain basis, the MPLA regime has maintained and, indeed, depended upon constant and extremely close relations with the Soviet Union and her ally, Cuba. Important early events in this relationship included Soviet political-military support for the MPLA regime and three high-level official PRA missions to Moscow. Relations have been confirmed through an elaborate complex of treaties and agreements, and cooperation in all spheres has been systematically intensified over the last five years, with Soviet, East European, and Cuban technical advice being provided at every level.

1. PRA Foreign Minister Visit to Moscow, January 1976

Jose Eduardo dos Santos, then PRA Foreign Minister, traveled to Moscow on January 22, 1976, en route from Helsinki where he had been involved in work with the Presidium of the World Peace Congress.(41) While in Moscow, dos Santos met with high ranking Soviet state and party officials as did other members of his delegation. Significantly, the delegations were received by, among others, Boris Ponomarev.

At the initial reception, dos Santos expressed his

> ...profound gratitude for all-round and disinterested assistance which the Soviet Union is giving to the People's

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> Republic of Angola in the just struggle for freedom and independence.(42)

The TASS report of the initial meeting stated that:

> The two sides noted with satisfaction the successful development of cooperation between the CPSU and MPLA, reaffirmed the readiness to continue expanding the friendly relations, to strengthen solidarity and friendship between the peoples...(43)

Dos Santos met with the leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee, and the Soviet representatives said that the Soviet people are "taking an active part in the world campaign of solidarity with Angolan patriots.(44) This campaign, it should be noted, was mounted to gain legitimacy for the MPLA regime and thereby increase the number of states recognizing it, as well as to increase economic assistance from Western sources.

At a Soviet press interview, dos Santos stated unequivocably that:

> The USSR has been supporting from the very outset the national liberation movement in Angola represented by the MPLA. It is due to the moral, political and material support of the Soviet people that the Angolan people could score successes in the struggle against the forces of imperialism, for freedom and independence.(45)

In short, dos Santos acknowledged the fact that without Soviet assistance, the MPLA would not have been able to gain power in Angola. In terms of state-to-state relations, he said that these relations "will be further improving, strengthening solidarity and friendship between our peoples."(46)

2. The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization Extraordinary Meeting, Luanda, February 2-4, 1976

As noted earlier, it is generally recognized that the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization is a Moscow-influenced grouping. And it should be noted that it called an improtant "Extraordinary Meeting" in Luanda on the 15th Anniversary of the beginning of the MPLA "liberation struggle" which was formally initiated, as has been mentioned, on February 4, 1961. The basic objective of this meeting was to broaden the international basis of support – "international solidarity" – for the MPLA regime in terms of diplomatic, political, and material assistance.(47)

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Some 200 representatives of various countries attended the conference, which was headed by the Deputy Secretary-General of the organization, General Fasine Bangura of Guinea.(48) The Soviet delegation was headed by the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries, Dzasokhov. CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Leonid Brezhnev, stated in his letter of greeting:

> ...the Soviet Union welcomed the birth of the new Angola, whose people had gained independence after a courageous and long struggle under the leadership of their vanguard, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola.
>
> The Soviet Union expresses solidarity with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, the legitimate government of that country...(49)

General Bangura described the objectives of the conference as follows:

> The aim of this forum is by no means abstract support for the just struggle of the Angolan people. We intend to pronounce ourselves in favor of the strict implementation of the decisions of our organization which were adopted last September...The issue now on the agenda is the consolidation of the results achieved in the persistent struggle...
>
> All progressive mankind is awaiting the 25th CPSU Congress with tremendous interest. We are sure that the Soviet people, loyal to their internationalist duty, will lift up their voices again and again in defense of the just struggle of the Angolan people. It is precisely on this struggle that the destiny of Africa now largely depends.(50)

3. PRA State and Party Mission to Moscow, May 1976

During the last week of May 1976 a PRA delegation composed of Lopo do Nascimento, Prime Minister; Enrique (Iko) Carreira, Minister of Defense; Joao Felipe Martins, Deputy Chief of General Staff of the "People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola" (FAPLA – under MPLA control); and Lopes, head of the Information and Security Directorate (DISA – similar in function to Cuban DGI or Soviet KGB), met with a Soviet contingent consisting of Aleksei Kosygin, Andrei Gromyko, USSR Defense Minister Ustinov, Foreign Trade Minister Patolichev, and others.(51)

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At the reception dinner, Lopo do Nascimento stated expressly his appreciation for the role of the Soviet Union in supporting the MPLA

> The government of the Soviet Union...showed militant solidarity expressed in disinterested political, diplomatic, financial, and economic aid in the struggle for national independence.
>
> It should be particularly noted that the successful fight of the Angolan people was made possible by the demonstration of militant solidarity by the other socialist countries...(52)

In line with Nascimento's comments, President Neto stated in an interview for Soviet television that

> ...throughout the armed struggle the Angolan people received aid from the Soviet Union, without which victory over Portuguese colonialism would have been impossible.(53)

President Neto stated two days before the mission to Moscow that "We intend to continue to rely on the solidarity of our peoples of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other socialist countries..."(54) The context of this mission then was one of very close bilateral ties.

The cooperation agreements signed during the mission were:

- Declaration on the Foundation of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between the USSR and the PRA
- Consular Convention
- Agreement of Trade
- Agreement on Cultural and Scientific Cooperation
- Agreement on Economic and Technological Cooperation
- Agreement on Cooperation on Fisheries
- Agreement on Merchant Shipping

Pravda noted that Lopo do Nascimento "has repeatedly expressed himself in favor of developing friendly relations and all-round cooperation between the PRA and the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community."(55) *Pravda* printed a *Tass* report from Luanda of May 19th in which President Neto stated

> The PRA has evolved good relations with certain countries in Western Europe and Latin America which understand the PRA's position and approve its policy. However, Angola devotes special attention to developing relations

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> of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries. We cannot and must not conceal our constantly strengthening relations with the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the other socialist countries. (56)

4. PRA State and Party Mission to Moscow, October 1976

The PRA state and party mission to Moscow in October 1976 coincided with the Soviet celebrations of the "Great October Revolution" and preceded the Angolan national Independence celebrations in November. The President of the PRA, Agostinho Neto, led the delegation, which included Jose Eduardo dos Santos, Foreign Minister; Carlos Rocha (Dilolwa), Minister of Planning and Economic Coordination; Commandants Joao Luis Neto (Xieto), Chief of FAPLA General Staff; Armando Campos (Major Chico Ta), member, MPLA Central Committee and Directive Commission of the Province of Guanza-norte; Herminio Joao Escorcio, member of MPLA Central Committee and Chief of Protocol for the President; Aristides van Dunem, member, MPLA Central Committee and General Secretary of the National Union of Angolan Workers (UNITA); and Enrique de Carvalho Santos (Onambua), Director of the Board of Information and Security (DISA). (57)

At the welcoming dinner, CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev gave a long and elaborate speech which indicated the importance the Soviet Union attached to Angola, the MPLA, and the PRA.

> Angola's victory is...a victory of internationalism, for the international solidarity of the forces of progress...From the outset your struggle was actively assisted by the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other socialist countries. The communists and all the true democrats of Portugal...were on your side.
>
> At the Berlin Conference, 29 European communist and workers parties unanimously supported the government and people of Angola...
>
> It is important that your people...support the program of profound socioeconomic transformation leading to the final liquidation of all exploitation, including that by capitalism, which the MPLA has put forward. (58)

The import of the remarks was clear enough: the Soviet Union welcomed the emergence of a Communist Angola. In this line,

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PRA President Neto stated on October 4th in Luanda to Soviet press representatives, three days before his visit:

> I would like to express tremendous satisfaction at the possibility to visit the Soviet Union, a country with which we have already long established the closest and deepest relations of friendship and solidarity.
>
> It must be noted that our celebrations (Angolan Independence, November 11) will be preceded by the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which ushered in a new era in mankind's history. The Great October has become a turning point for the peoples...in their struggle for freedom and independence. It introduced new elements into our national life, into the destinies of all oppressed peoples.(59)

Neto's interview was a clear expression of his ideologically conditioned view of history and of his view of the role of Soviet-line Marxist-Leninism. At the dinner, Secretary Brezhnev referred to President Neto as "Comrade Neto" and pointed out that, "You, Comrade Neto, have been in the Soviet Union before."

PRA President Neto, in his dinner speech, directed a good deal of attention to the People's Republic of China, and his statements further revealed the nature of his ideological orientation.

> Imperialism is trying to manoeuvre in order to break the will of the African peoples and prevent their attainment of the social stages that accord with the epoch in which they live...
>
> We cannot but mention here the actions of China, a country that passes itself for a socialist one and whose actions in respect of Angola manifested themselves in an alignment with the forces of imperialism...China's behavior in Africa is nothing but a manifestation of naked anti-sovietism...(60)

The bilateral talks which began on October 7 were said to have "passed in a heartfelt friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding."(61) The documents which were signed during the mission's visit were:

- Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and the PRA
- Agreement on Cooperation between the CPSU and the MPLA
- Soviet-Angolan Statement

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- Agreement on Economic and Technological Cooperation

PRA President Neto gave a long speech at the October 7th Dinner. In it he again explicitly revealed his ideological orientation and his view of PRA-USSR relations. He began the speech as follows: "Comrade General Secretary, Comrade Chairman of the Soviet Union's Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade members of the Soviet government, Comrades." The following extracts are significant:

> Geographically our countries are widely separated but this has not prevented the creation of a revolutionary alliance between them for the continuation of the liberation struggle, the revolutionary incarnation of our peoples' ideals and the establishment of a genuine solidarity in the cause of building socialism and consolidating peace on our planet.
>
> I must also convey to the CPSU Central Committee the revolutionary greetings of the MPLA Central Committee. *For many years now we have seen the fraternal relations between our parties strengthening and becoming increasingly close.*
>
> Soviet aid has played a most important role in our historical development and in achieving independence and the country's reconstruction. And it would not have been otherwise, *for the Soviet Union, which is rightly in the vanguard of the historical development of the peoples, is building communism,* traveling the revolutionary path which excites admiration and which has led from the exploiter society to socialism and the birth of proletarian internationalism. The peoples who have only now gained the opportunity to embark on the path of building socialism cannot fail to recognize the great role of Vladimir Illich Lenin, whose teaching inspires all those today who want to implement the ideas of Marx and Engels with respect to their respective social and geographical area.(62) [Emphasis added.]

On October 10th, PRA President Neto gave an address on Moscow central television in which he again underscored his ideological commitment:

> We are going to establish the development of *proletarian internationalism* as our country's fundamental principle. We believe that now we have signed the long-

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> term agreements in Moscow, we have thereby laid the foundation for further cooperation between the peoples of Angola and the Soviet Union and their unity in the intransigent struggle against imperialism. We believe that the significance of the agreements that we have signed goes beyond the framework of bilateral relations between the Soviet Union and Angola. The agreements play an important role and will have an influence on the development of events in other countries of Europe and Africa.(63) [Emphasis added.]

Given the late PRA President Neto's own statements, one can only conclude that the early Mr. Neto was a committed marxist-leninist who chose the Moscow line. Further confirmation of this and the long-standing Soviet-MPLA cooperation are revealed in the statement by PRA Minister Carlos Rocha in remarks after the signing of the Agreement on Economic and Technological Cooperation. He stated that, "*Our governmental relations were established in the 'fifties'* and since then they have been developing well." [Emphasis added.](64)

The Soviet-PRA statement revealed harmony on all issues:

> The leaders of the Soviet Union and PRA note with satisfaction the broad coincidence of the positions of the USSR and PRA on major international problems.
>
> The MPLA Politiburo and PRA government note the special significance of the 25th CPSU Congress' new program of further struggle for peace and international cooperation...(65)

An assessment of this early PRA mission to Moscow points to the clearly expressed ideological position of the MPLA and the PRA which has taken its lead from Moscow and the CPSU. In terms of state-to-state relations, the mission clearly, through its signing of agreements and statements, displayed a desire for the closest possible cooperation with the Soviet Union. Indeed, Article 2 of the Treaty of Friendship called for close and comprehensive cooperation to "preserve and further develop the socioeconomic gains of their peoples."(66) This Article apparently extended the Brezhnev Doctrine" to Angola.

CPSU-MPLA Relations

As mentioned above, the MPLA, through its former Chairman PRA President Neto, operated from a marxist-leninist

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Moscow line basis. The MPLA, however, was not a party in the strict sense of the word, but rather a "movement"; therefore, it undertook to transform itself into an orthodox party. To accomplish this transformation, assistance from the Soviet Union was formally agreed upon in the "Agreement on Cooperation Between the CPSU and the MPLA" signed during the October 1976 mission to Moscow.(67)

The document states that, "Guided by...comradely equality..." the two parties will develop cooperation in several ways. The first point committed the signatories

> To consistently broaden inter-party contacts at all levels and assist in every way the mutual exchange of experience in party work.(68)

The third point specifically committed the signatories

> To cooperate in the training of party cadres and conduct joint research into urgent problems of contemporary social development.(69)

The intention was quite clear at an early date, therefore, that the CPSU itself would guide the transformation of the MPLA into an orthodox marxist-lenist party along Moscow's lines.

In December 1977, the MPLA was officially restructured into an orthodox marxist-leninist party. The official name became MPLA-PT (Popular Liberation Movement of Angola – Party of Labor). In October 1978, the youth section of the MPLA reconstituted itself as the official youth section of the MPLA-PT. Subsequent examples of this type of agreement to effect the transformation of a national liberation movement to an orthodox party along Soviet lines can be found, for example, in the People's Republic of Mozambique and more recently in Nicaragua.

Prospects

Soviet support of the MPLA over the last twenty years, combined with an ideological coincidence, naturally provides the Soviet Union with a degree of influence which no other country can approximate. As the Soviet Union helped decisively to install the MPLA in power in Angola and as the MPLA has had to, in its own words, "rely" on Soviet support in the face of the on-going civil war, a high degree of influence by the Soviet Union over the MPLA and the PRA is obvious. Whether this influence will continue far into the future depends on many

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factors; however, the large Soviet-Cuban military presence is an indication of an intention to exercise continuing control over the country's future.

Soviet influence on a state-to-state level has been pronounced in terms of the general orientation of the PRA foreign policy political alignment. While the PRA pretends to have what it calls a "non-aligned" position, it openly supports the global "National Liberation Struggle" and to the discipline of "Proletarian Internationalism" and the principles of "scientific socialism," clearly under the Soviet sphere of influence. This influence is assured by Soviet Bloc advisory personnel at various levels of the Angolan state and party apparatus. Angola is without doubt a part of the Soviet-led "Socialist World System," sometimes also denoted as the "Socialist Commonwealth."

There has been no hard evidence of any ideological independence evolving in Angola over the last six years. Increasing explicitness in PRA official statements as to its ideological position was noticeable prior to the October 1976 mission to Moscow, though it is likely that the MPLA may have held back on total identification for tactical reasons until power was actually gained and consolidated. The formation of a "vanguard party" from the MPLA under Soviet guidance has consolidated homogeneity of the MPLA itself and strengthened its overall pro-Soviet orientation.

Regarding the Angolan body politic, the MPLA-PT has engaged in the work of collectivization (Sovietization) of life in Angola. State and social organization reflects the marxist-leninist basis for the reorganization of socio-economic life quite in line with classic COMINTERN guidance. The Soviet Union has exercised an influence over the body politic by its role in introducing collectivist practices into Angola, and social attitudes and behavior have reflected this reorganization of society.

As for the question of the scope of Soviet influence, the Soviet Union continues to exercise an influence over the PRA in ideology, foreign policy, socio-economic organization, and in the military-security realm. Soviet influence extends from the President down through the various layers of the state bureaucracy. The MPLA has been transformed into an orthodox Communist Party, and as the ideological conformity of the bureaucracy has been enforced, the Party power monopoly has come to resemble more and more the pattern of total control as it exists under other regimes of the "Socialist Commonwealth."

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The basic party structure of the MPLA and the state structure reflect Soviet institutions and practices. With the close cooperation embodied in the network of Treaties and Agreements, it can be assumed that the Soviet Union will continue to provide guidance for the long-term institutional development of Angola. The PRA dos Santos regime is actively seeking Soviet guidance, and the Soviet Union will be more than likely supplying this guidance for as long as it can derive strategic and power political benefits from its Angolan client.

FOOTNOTES

(1) For a critical view of the role of the United Nations in the ' de-colonialization" process see, Franco Nogueira, *The United Nations and Portugal,* London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1963. A negative paper on Brazil's position by Samuel Y. Bondi-Siaw, "The Liberation Movement in Portuguese Africa as a Problem in Brazil-African Relations, 1961-1973," was presented to the African Studies Center, University of California at Los Angeles, in February, 1976. The author is a Professor in the Department of History, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast, Ghana.

(2) See, John Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution,* Vol. I, Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1969; Ronald Chilcote, *Emerging Nationalism in Portuguese Africa,* Stanford: Hoover Institute, 1972; and, for further reference, D.M. Abshire and M.A. Samuels, eds. *Portuguese Africa: A Bibliography of Documentary Ephemera Through 1965,* Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1970.

(3) See, *Comment les Communistes ont Essage de S'Emparer du Pouvoir au Portugal,* supplement to *East & Ovest* (Paris), No. 560, 1-15 November 1975.

(4) See, General Antoio de Spinola, *Portugal e o Future,* Lisbon, 1974 in which he argues against "imperial unity" and for a "federation of autonomous states."

(5) A.K. Kalien, former Charge d'affaires in Cuba. Three months before the April 24, 1974 Lisbon *coup,* there were 135 functionaries including 80 with diplomatic status. See, *Comment les Communistes..., op. cit.*

(6) Foreign Broadcast Information Service (hereinafter, FBIS), Angola, No. 80, 24 April 1975, p. E1.

(7) *Ibid.*

(8) FBIS/Angola, No. 8, 13 January 1975, p. AA1.

(9) See table in following section, "Soviet Political and Military Support for the MPLA Regime."

(10) See, Marcu, *op. cit.*

(11) *Bulletin of the Africa Institute of South Africa,* No. 6, 1974, p. 265.

(12) *Ibid.*

(13) *Ibid.*

(14) See, George Martelli, "The Future in Angola," *African Affairs,* Vol. 61, No. 245, October, 1962, pp. 303-304.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) See, Marcum, *op. cit.,* for background.

(17) Note 1. See also, *Africa Today,* Moscow, 1962 for details.

(18) *Comment les Communistes..., op. cit.,* p. 10.

(19) The following discussion based upon, in part, Charles K. Ebinger, "External War," *ORBIS,* Vol. 20, No. 3, Fall 1976. See also, "Decolonialization, Angola," in *Strategic Survey,* London: IISS, 1976, pp. 27-58; and Anthony R. Wilkinson,

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"Angola and Mozambique, the Impact of Local Power," *Survival,* September-October 1974.

(20) Ebinger, *op. cit.,* p. 678. See also Marcum, *op. cit.,* pp. 27-46 for data on early Communist support.

(21) Ebinger, *op. cit.,* p. 678.

(22) *Ibid.*, pp. 678-682.

(23) *Ibid.*

(24) Ebinger, *op. cit.,* p. 678.

(25) For a view of the effectiveness of the Portuguese response to using guerrilla warfare see, Thomas H. Henriksen, "Lessons from Portugal's Counterinsurgency Operations in Africa," Royal United Services Institute (*RUSI*) Journal, Vol. 122, No. 2, June, 1978, pp. 31-35.

(26) MPLA fortunes are discussed in a sympathetic article by Brasil Davidson, "Angola in the Tenth Year, A Report and an Analysis, May-July 1970," *African Affairs,* Vol. 70, No. 298, January 1971, pp. 37-49. Parallel revolutionary developments in another part of the revolutionary problem in Portuguese Africa are discussed in John Briggs-Davidson, MP, "The Current Situation in Portuguese Guinea," *African Affairs,* Vol. 70, No. 281, October 1971, pp. 385-394.

(27) *Washington Post,* January 12, 1977.

(28) Some details on Soviet support appear in the testimony of William E. Schaufele, Jr., Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in United States Senate, Subcommittee on African Affairs, 94th Congress, *Hearings on U.S. Involvement in the Civil War in Angola,* (January 29, February 2, 4, and 6, 1976), Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976).

(29) Ebinger, *op. cit.,* p. 684-685. South Africa had a major stake in the Cunene River development project responsible for thirteen dams and related projects. Ebinger reports that, "South Africa agreed to finance most of the cost of the major portion of the project: namely, the construction of the Gove and Calueque dams. The purpose of the Caluegue complex, forty miles from the Ruacana Falls on the Angolan-Nambian border, is to supply water and power to Ovamboland, Grootfortein, the Tsumeb iron-ore facility, Windhoek, Walvis Bay, and Rio Jinto Zinc's mines at Rossing, which holds one of the world's largest deposits of uranium," p. 685.

(30) See, Rene Pelissier, "La Guerre en Angola Oriental, *Revue Francaise d'etudes Politiques Africaines,* No. 103, July 1974, pp. 87-108.

(31) For an overview see, Joseph C. Miller, "The Politics of Decolonialization in Portuguese Africa," *African Affairs,* Vol. 74, No. 294, January 1975.

(32) Ebinger, *op. cit.,* p. 687.

(33) *Ibid.*

(34) *Ibid.*

(35) *Ibid.*, p. 688.

(36) *Ibid.*

(37) *Ibid.*

(38) Schaufele, *Hearings, op. cit.,* p. 184.

(39) *Ibid.,* see also, Peter Vanneman and Martin James, "The Soviet Intervention in Angola: Intentions and Implications," *Strategic Review,* Vol. IV, No. 3, Summer 1976, pp. 92-103.

(40) For a sympathetic overview of the Angolan MPLA victory see, John A. Marcum, "The Anguish of Angola," *Issue,* Vol. 5, No. 4, Winter, 1975, pp. 3-11 and his "Lessons of Angola," *Foreign Affairs,* April 1976; also Rene Pelissier, "Portuguese African Resounds to MPLA Victory in Angola," *International Perspectives,* July-August, 1976.

(41) FBIS/Angola, No. 17, 26 January 1976, p. H5.

(42) *Ibid.*

(43) *Ibid.*

(44) *Ibid.,* p. H6.

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(45) *Ibid.*
(46) FBIS/Angola, No. 21, 30 January 1976, p. H4.
(47) FBIS/USSR, No. 25, 5 February 1976, p. H1.
(48) *Ibid.*, p. H2.
(49) *Ibid.*, p. H3.
(50) *Ibid.*, p. H1.
(51) FBIS/USSR, No. 102, 25 May 1976, pp. H1-H2.
(52) *Ibid.*, p. 43.
(53) FBIS/USSR, No. 102, 25 May 1976, p. H3.
(54) *Ibid.*, p. H5.
(55) FBIS/USSR, No. 103, 25 May 1976, p. H3.
(56) *Ibid.*, p. H4.
(57) FBIS/USSR, No. 197, 8 October 1976, p. H1.
(58) *Ibid.*, p. H2.
(59) FBIS/USSR, No. 194, 5 October 1976, p. H4.
(60) FBIS/USSR, No. 197, *op. cit.*, pp. H4-H5.
(61) *Ibid.*, p. H5.
(62) FBIS/USSR, No. 198, 12 October 1976, pp. H11-14.
(63) *Ibid.*
(64) FBIS/USSR, No. 199, 13 October 1976, p. H1.
(65) FBIS/USSR, No. 201, 15 October 1976, pp. H1-5.
(66) FBIS/USSR, No. 198, *op. cit.*, p. H2. For an intensive analysis of the "Brezhnev Doctrine," see, Boris, Meissner, *The Brezhnev Doctrine,* Kansas City, Mo.: Park College, 1970.
(67) FBIS/USSR, No. 200, 14 October 1976, pp. H2-3.
(68) *Ibid.*, p. H3.
(69) *Ibid.*

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